A CASE FOR SINDHU DESH

G.M. SAYED

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Foreword

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To the brave Sons and Daughters of Sind who have laid down their lives and made supreme sacrifice to save the honour of their beloved land Sind.

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FOREWORD

It is a very little known fact that the Sind's separate political identity was conceived much earlier than the birth of Pakistan, not to speak of the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation. In early forties, when the straw of Pakistan was floating in the wind, some of the radically minded youth from the Karachi Colleges, fearing the uncertain fate of Sind in the political arrangements, had raised a cry to forewarn the people of Sind, of the calamity that was in store for them, if Pakistan became a political reality. To counteract the communalisation of the politics and to give expression to the national aspirations of the Sindhi people, they raised the slogan "Sind for Sindhis". One of them, an intellectual of outstanding calibre and a staunch nationalist wrote a book entitled "Save Sind, save the continent". With his prophetic insight he had visualized the unfolding of the tragic course of events that was to follow in the subcontinent in the wake of the partition. Hats off, to such a brilliant son of Sind, Mohammad Ibrahim Joyo, who till today continues to enjoy the highest respect of his people and remains as a lighthouse of inspiration for the Sindhis.

Soon after the establishment of Pakistan, the cruel drama began to unfold before the simple masses of Sind, who had been fed on the false hopes, that Pakistan would usher in a "Paradise" on earth for them. The paradise disappeared in the thin air; the harsh reality stared in their face, reminding them of the cruel joke that was practiced against them. The deception became apparent. All the properties, government jobs, business enterprises left over by the Hindus in Sind, were grabbed away by the incoming Muhajirs (refugees) from India as a war booty, claiming that they had conquered Pakistan for them and they would be the rulers. The Muhajirs treated the local population worse than they (masses) had been under the Hindu domination in the pre-partition period. Their language, culture and history were looked down upon and considered as inferior. Urdu language and Urdu culture pressed the claim to be the language and culture of Pakistan-an imported language and an imported culture ! It was indeed a painful disillusionment for people in Sind, who were inheritors of the great cultural heritage and history from the times immemorial.

The thrust for Urduization became so unabashed that Urdu started replacing Sindhi from the very primary school level. The name plates of roads, parks, streets, railway stations in Sindhi language were removed — and Urdu ones were put up. This served as a terrific shock to the Sindhi Muslims, who saw through the dubious game of their decimation as a distinct cultural entity. The intelligentsia in Sind became restive. It was then, that a great literature of protest flowed and many writers landed themselves into jails. The great poet of Sind, Sheikh Ayaz was also arrested and even beaten inside the jail. The initial battles for the survival of the Sindhi people had begun, when Sheikh Ayaz had said in one of his poems :

The slayer will be slain himself atleast,
His sword will tremble, O ! friend, in the end,
Who will not answer the call of Sind ?

Now the cry "Sind for Sindhis" took a new turn. The Movement to defend Sindhi language, culture and Sind's honour developed into a mass-cry "Jeeye Sind" (Long Live Sind).

G. M. Sayed, one of the stalwarts of politics of the subcontinent, became the Father Figure of the movement and fountain-head of inspiration for the masses of Sind. He became the chief ideologue of the movement and came into direct conflict with the powers that be. For this he has suffered the greatest hardships next in intensity and longevity to, that perpetrated on the great leader of the brave Pathans, Abdul Gaflar Khan, better known, "The Frontier Gandhi".

G. M. Sayed is one of the tallest politicians of the Indian subcontinent with a checkered political career of over half a century. Sufi by nature, he started as a staunch nationalist; but in a fit of anger against the petti-minded and parochial approach of the Sindhi Congress leadership towards Muslims in Sind, jumped over the fence and joined hands with Mohammad Ali Jinnah. He was even instrumental to the passing of that "infamous" resolution for Pakistan in the Sind Legislative Assembly. Now he calls it, to be

the gravest political blunder of his life, for which he has paid heavily.

The "marriage of convenience" was not going to last for long. G. M. Sayed had the quinine taste of the dictatorial temperament of the Fuhrer of the Muslim League and his scant respect for the democratic norms. He parted company with the Quaid-e-Azam, much before the advent of Pakistan. He knew, what mortal risk he was taking with such an action, in the state of Pakistan based on communal bigotry and personal cult of Jinnah; but history is witness to the glowing fact that G. M. Sayed has braved the cruel persecution, remained unbending on his principles, inspite of the privations and inducements of all kinds. He has suffered many imprisonments or remained under house arrest, for most of the time of Pakistan's existence, and he remains so till today.

His understanding of political scenario of the subcontinent has been amazing. The present book is witness to that. It was written and published a decade ago. The events, that have unfolded in Pakistan are replica of the political forecasts made by G. M. Sayed. Even his prophecy that the Punjabi-Muhajir-Junta combine will finish Bhutto, before he becomes a power in Pakistan, has painfully come true with the precision he anticipated.

The book deals with two basic issues and draws fruitful conclusions :

Firstly, that Pakistan was the greatest political tragedy in the subcontinent. The concept of Pakistan based as it was on religion, was an antithesis of the concept of a modern nation state. It was not created by the rational will of the people, but on the basis of whipping up hatred of one community against the other and with the manipulation of a foreign imperialist power, hellbent upon wrecking vengeance on the freedom struggle of the Indian people and hatching a criminal conspiracy to carve out a part of the region to serve its vested interests in the larger perspective of the imerialist designs in the subcontinent. Pakistan had no distinct entity of its own and nor could it develop one, during the last three and half decades, because of the successive repressive military regimes,

striving mainly to promote and protect the Punjabi-Muhajir vested interests at the cost of the interests of the linguistic minority groups, who are the real sons of the soil and feel deprived and dispossessed.

Secondly, Pakistan comprised five distinctive linguistic groups, the Bengalis, the Sindhis, the Balochis, the Pakhtoons and the Punjabis, with a developed sense of national pride in their language, culture, history and tradition, that could not be hammered out into a single artificial integrated cultural or political entity, that could inspire faith and unity among the linguistic groups. So the Bengalis were the first to opt out of Pakistan at a terrible cost to their honour and a blood bath. Sindhis and Balochis find no other alternative to their honourable existence as a distinct people in the present polity of Pakistan.

G. M. Sayed in this book has advocated a course of political action for his people. He has developed very brilliantly the idea of a distinct political identity of the Sindhi people. He has raised it above the emotional plane and established with historic perception and practical sagacity, the inconstrovertible truth, that Sind was a separate "Desh" from times immemorial and will remain so in the future. Further, with a formidable fund of facts and other relevant material, he has established beyond doubt, that Sind can remain a viable separate state in the subcontinent with its rich and enviable culture and an abundance of natural and material resources.

The book originally was published in 1974 under the title "A Nation In Chains-Sindhu-Desh". The present is an abridged version of the same. The ideas expressed in the book are very relevant and important in the context of the recent events in Sind, revealing the deep rooted discontentment among the people in Sind. We thought it our duty to publish it for the benefit of people here in India and abroad, to bring out the truth behind the struggle launched by the suppressed Sindhi linguistic minority for freedom, democracy and national dignity.

Bombay, September 25, 1984

KIRAT BABANI

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Sindhu Desh was born with the birth of Mother Earth. Our attachment with it, too, is as old and ancient as that.

As the days pass into nights and the seasons change, man too, observes his regime of wakefulness and sleep and registers the effect of the change. Like individuals, the peoples also have their cycles of hibernation and soulfulness of life and activity. At certain times of their history, they rise and take some giant steps on the road to civilization-heights, and putting a mile-stone or two on the path, they slow down and then step aside to catch breath — some times even slide down dangerously — and wait quietly for the chance to rise and get on the way again.

Sindhu Desh is the land of the people, noted for their ancient civilization and culture. They have had a remarkably magnificient past. For some period in their recent history, they chose to forget their status as a people and fell into a regretable bout of slumber, and permitted themselves to be over-run and ruled by alien peoples.

We, the present generation of the people of Sindhu Desh are the product of that hapless period of our history.

After separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency in 1936 when we found our political freedom, economic prosperity and cultural growth check-mated at home, we over reacted, and largely misconceiving the situation, held the 'Hindu Vested Interests', to be responsible for it. As a consequence, we chose to see

the solution of the situation in the establishment of Pakistan — the land of 'the holy (Muslim) people'.

It is said that "the path to hell is paved with good intentions". We too strove to gain Pakistan, with a view to attaining the following objectives :

(i) Establishment of separate states of the local muslim peoples in the Muslim majority areas in the Indian sub-continent, in order to provide them with full opportunities for progress and development, in accordance with the ways and traditions of their life;

(ii) Promotion and establishment of mutual co-operation among such separate Muslim states in order to ensure their political freedom, economic prosperity and cultural growth.

We have now expended full twenty seven years on this experiment. We should now be in a position to appraise the performance and measure the fulfilment.

Muslim rulers held their sovereignty over a large part of the Indian sub-continent, for a great number of years — although, almost entirely, this rule was personal and tribal.

Under these ruler-ships, certain classes and coteries of Muslims, almost exclusively belonging to the non-Indian descent who arrived in India with or in the wake of the invading armies, established their vested interests as land-owning gentry or officials in government establishments. The Mulla, the Pir (priestly class) the feudalist and the 'mandarines', constituting themselves as serving Muslim aristocracy, who benefited the most under these personal tribal seats of power, found their privileged position better ensured and protected in calling these establishments the Muslim States, or better still, the Islamic States.

The Muslim aristocracy, thus entrenched, adopted two positions, choosing one or the other as it suited their purpose, for safe-guarding their social, economic and political hegemony in India.

First, as later in the period of Moghul Imperial Rule, they would exert to preserve the vested interests by basing the state power on **semi-secular** foundations — seeking help and support both of the Muslim and the Hindu powerful tribes. This approach, speaking in broad terms, worked, to an extent to the

benefit of both the Hindu and the Muslim communities and easily won a considerable measure of popular acceptance in the sub-continent. In course of time, however, this approach proved a failure, solely because of the element of mistake, inherent in its basic formulation viz., joining religion with politics, under a patronizing show of impartiality, for purposes of state administration.

Second, on failure of the semi-secular approach, the Muslim aristocracy sought to protect and enlarge their vested interests by building exclusive Muslim domination in the affairs of the State, basing all state power on theocracy, throwing out secular politics completely out of the field. This could evidently lead to disaster, as it actually did, under the realities and in the steady awakening of political atmosphere and social and economic life in the sub-continent.

The British power, armed with superiorities gained from Industrial Revolution back at home, soon walked in and established its thorough imperialist domination in the sub-continent. The Muslim aristocracy, left high and dry, found itself divided into two camps. One, consisted of those who sought to dislodge the British and restore the Moghul rule with the support of the outside friendly Muslim powers and the local Hindu chieftains. That move, however, failed on the fields of the war of liberation of 1857, and its leading members had to suffer terribly in the cause. The other group sought to save and maintain their privileged positions and vested interests secured by them during the Moghul days, by collaborating fully and unconditionally with the alien imperialist British Raj.

Some time later, when the British imperialists, under pressure of the rising public opinion in India and the world opinion generated under the two world-war conditions started offering political reforms to the people of India on democratic basis, this last group of the upper class Muslim collaborators fearing injury to their class interests under democracy, first strove to protect the same by consolidating and further expanding areas of their collaboration with the British. However, on seeing the freedom movement gathering momentum and advancing irresistably, they revised their policy, and with the help and support of their British masters, started movement for establishing sovereign independent

states in the Muslim majority provinces, in an arrangement superlatively called Pakistan.

The Muslim upper classes of the Muslim majority provinces did not apprehend any challenge to their vested interests in conditions of democratic political freedom. These and the common Muslims in those provinces were, however incited to join the movement for Pakistan by holding out to them temporising prospects of :

(i) Establishment of independent sovereign Muslim States in their provinces;

(ii) Introduction of a way of life in those states in full accord with the injunctions of Islam and holy traditions of the Prophet;

(iii) Freedom of the Muslims of these provinces from the real or imaginary economic domination of the non-muslims, i.e., the Hindus;

(iv) Establishment of unity of all the Muslim countries, with Pakistan as the hub centre of the chosen brotherhood.

For the attainment of these tantalizing objectives, the Muslim vested interests in the Muslim minority provinces invented the theory of separate nationhood of Muslims. This theory of the nation had its basis solely on considerations of religion. And although, none of the people in any Muslim country of the world believed in any such theory, the Muslim masses of Sind, Baluchistan, Pakhtoonistan and Bengal were soon taken in under the lavish use of Islam's name as an adulatory brief for it. They could not foresee the price they were to pay for the dubious privilege of being termed a nation on basis of religion. They could not realise in time the utter barrenness of the theory both in terms of any national gain or even as a leverage for attaining Islam's power and glory in the world. They were swept completely off their feet in the exuberance of religious fervour, remaining utterly oblivious of their fate as victims of the cruel hoax.

Some of us who all the time remained conscious of the national distinctness of the people of Sind and of their significant past history, participated in the movement for Pakistan solely for the purpose of ensuring thereby political independence, economic prosperity and cultural advancement of Sind. We remained con-

vinced throughout of the validity of the teaching of our great political thinkers like Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, Allama I. I. Kazi and others who considered the Sindhi people a separate nation. Inspite of these convictions, if we joined hands with advocates of the religious nationality theory, who, in fact, clandestinely strove only to establish the Muhajir-Punjabi exploitative hegemony over the Muslim majority provinces, our sole reason for such a participation was the most unambiguously declared objective of the Pakistan movement, as defined in the 1940 Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League, to found "Independent and Sovereign States" in the Muslim majority provinces in the sub-continent. Mr. Jinnah, when questioned, soon after at his press conference in Madras as to the meaning and effect of the above words in the Pakistan Resolution, most unequivocally declared that "Punjab, for example, will be an independent and sovereign state".

It was Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his group of workers only, in the Muslim majority areas, who, even in those days, could see through the game and did not get into the trap of the "Two Nation Theory", which the dying Muslim privilege in India was trumpeting about for salvaging its sinking fortunes in Indian life.

At the start, we here in Sind, participated in the Pakistan movement, under the leadership of Shaikh Abdul-Majid Sindhi, on the basis of the theory of separate Muslim nationhood, but soon after, we ourselves could see through the class intentions of the Muslim vested interests of the Muslim minority provinces and those of our own exploitative Muslim elements, who joined with them for the fool-hardy and short-sighted purpose of gaining sole positions of power and privilege locally at the cost of their Hindu rivals. Realizing the above, we parted company and came out of the Muslim league.

Pakistan came into existence on August 14, 1947. At the inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's founder and its first Governor General, made a declaration. That was timely, appropriate and the most devastating in importance in the context of the two-nation theory on the basis of which the Muslim League, under his own presidentship, fought for the partitioning of the Indian

sub-continent and establishment of Pakistan. This declaration of Quaid-Azam stands as a complete and most decisive rebuttal of the theory of nation on the basis of religion, over which Pakistan was founded. Following are extracts from the report of the speech as officially published.

"Now if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people and specially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, cast or creed, is first, second and last, a citizen of this State, with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.

"I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community, because even as regards Muslims, you have Pathans, Punjabees, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vaishnavas, Khatris, and also Bengalis, Madrasis and so on — will vanish. Indeed, if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance, and but for this, we should have been free peoples long ago. No power on earth can hold another nation and specially a nation 400 million souls in subjection, no-body could have continued its hold on you for any length of time but for this (Applause). Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques, or to any other place of worship in the State of Pakistan, for you may belong to any religion or caste or creed — that has nothing to do with the business of the State. (Hear, hear).

"Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal matter

of individual citizen, but in the political sense and as citizens of the State."

The same Mr. Jinnah, on the 23rd of March, 1940, at the Lahore session of All-India Muslim League, had said the following:

"There is no doubt that Musalmans are to elect their representatives on the Constituent Assembly through separate electorate. That is a good thing. But decisions on constitution are nevertheless to be taken by majority. Should there be difference on any issue between the minority and the majority, who will decide the point?

"All the talk today takes place on the assumption that Musalmans are a minority. We have got so used to this that we are not able to think any other way. We have totally forgotten the fact that Musalmans are not a minority, but, in every sense and from all view-points they are a separate nation."

The political argument developed, by Mr. Jinnah in his speech quoted in these extracts can exactly apply mutatis-mutandis to the claim of Sindhi people to be treated as a nation and not as a minority in Pakistan.

Before commenting on the contradiction involved in the two positions as revealed in Mr. Jinnah's two speeches quoted above, it would be better to quote him from another speech of his, which he made on the 28th of September, 1939, at the Osmania University, Hyderabad Deccan. Addressing the Old Boys of the University at their annual "get-together", he said:

"In matters of life, I am basically a realist, and have always followed pragmatic approach in politics. The terms 'nationality' and 'nationalism' have meant different things to different people, according to practical bearings thereof upon their given interests. Strictly speaking, I am still a nationalist. I have always stood for Hindu-Muslim Unity. But that unity and understanding should be honourable and just, and not that one party should grow all powerfull, while the other may not exist."

Studying the three declarations, explicit as they are, it becomes clear that Mr. Jinnah, while advocating the separate Muslim nationality theory, remained throughout a believer in Indian Nationalism, "strictly speaking". It was because of lack of an "honourable understanding" for settlement that, "pragmatic" or

'practical' politician as he was, he spoke of Muslim nationhood and separate Muslim State or States in the sub-continent. And when Pakistan was actually established, he without losing a moment, called upon his followers and all citizens in Pakistan "to work in cooperation forgetting the past," told them unequivocally that "you may belong to any religion or caste or creed — that has nothing to do with the business of the State" that "We are all citizens and equal citizens of one State," and that "in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal matter of an individual citizen, but in the political sense and as citizens of the State."

What was Mr. Jinnah's actual mind in holding forth so brazenly with these contradictions? Firstly Mr. Jinnah was never at all a principled politician. He had a pragmatic approach in affairs of life. He hesitated the least in changing his stand points as and when it suited his purposes. Secondly, Mr. Jinnah had a very patchy and incomplete knowledge of Islam. He had no true contact with the Muslim masses either. Thirdly, he was only playing the role of an expert and efficient advocate holding, and defending his brief for the waning Muslim vested interests of the Muslim minority provinces, who, while seeing their privileged position under challenge in conditions of democracy in a free-India, strove to provide themselves with a safe heaven in a separate country, where they would install and preserve their vested interests, and put their exploitative talents to the best and safest use.

It was for this very objective that Mr. Jinnah changed his mind towards nearly the fag end of his life, from being a strong-Indian nationalist to a pragmatic Muslim separatist; worked and brought about partitioning of the sub-continent; and finally re-asserted his faith on secular nationalism in place of religious nationalism as he realized, that alone could ensure security, stability and well-being of the new State founded by him. He thus disparaged Indian Nationalism and sponsored Muslim Nationalism only as an argument for the sake of argument, and, on gaining his point, immediately gave it up as an argument no more needed. He was a secular nationalist to begin with and when he saw that was the only way to run a modern State, he promptly came back to it and

spoke of Pakistani Nationalism, as he knew that no country in the world could ever accept the concept of nation on basis of religion.

Unfortunately for him, however, as he was totally wrong in his argument for his brief for Pakistan as a political concept, he was wrong, though in a different way, also in the argument for his brief for Pakistan as a political fact. When he addressed the inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947, and adumbrated Pakistani Nationalism as theory for running Pakistan in place of Muslim Nationalism which brought it about, he was turning his blind eye to the following very partinent facts of nature and history :

* There was no country, nor any nation, in the Indian sub-continent known to history at any stage as Pakistan or Pakistani Nation;
* Historically, the states which had been collected together and formed into Pakistan were each a separate homeland for a separate nation;
* Culturally, politically and economically, too, these were the countries and nations, each being not only a distinct but even an exclusive entity existing in its own right;
* Considerations, which could weigh with any body for denying status of one nation or one country to India, could exactly, and even in greater weight apply to Pakistan for withholding the same status from it;
* Pakistan was not a country nor the peoples living in it were a nation by any modern definition of the term. They could, however be welded into one nation and one country, just as Indian sub-continent too could have been so welded, through "honourable and just understanding" and settlement among different national interests living in it.

In brief, Mr. Jinnah, in his secular nationalism for Pakistan was becoming guilty of the same mistaken approach as he himself had seen castigated in the stand point of the Indian National Congress vis-a-vis its Indian "Nationalism". A very prolonged and sustained effort, on the basis of mutual understanding for living together, was needed for converging individual interests of different national entities living in Pakistan, as in Indian sub-continent, into one, and for forging an impregnable and lasting unity out of them

to emerge into a living history as a well-knit and fully viable nation.

To talk about a thing or to express an opinion on it is not a matter of much difficulty. It is an entirely different thing, however, to translate into reality what one professes to stand for. To weld divergent peoples living for thousands of years under variegated geographical conditions, into one could not, by any way, be an easy proposition. The peoples, with established homelands of theirs, joined under the new state administration, had their linguistic divergencies, to start with. Their national temperaments, customs and traditions and political and economic interests differed visibly. Theirs were also the conflicts in history which turned what was good for some into the bad for others. Their differences of this kind stood petrified, in certain cases in their language expressions. The Sindhi language in this connection, had the following citations to offer : "Oh, our beloved Sind, thou art under the menace ever from the direction of Qandhar", "Allow one Punjabi in, the second is bound to sneak in, and when they are two together, mind your person and your home", "Spare the snake and kill the Punjabi Muhajir".

Mr. Jinnah, in turn, instead of blunting the edges of conflict and soothing the sore spots among such mutually dissimilar peoples, did his worst to aggravate differences and widen the schisms among them by the following thoughtless moves of his, probably the result of over-estimation on his part of his powers, allowing his exuberance at earlier easy political successes to get better of his discretions :

1. The First move of his that planted a tough and growing suspicion in the mind of the original peoples who came together in Pakistan, was the move at imposition of Urdu as the National Language on them, the language of the Muslim vested interests of the Muslim minority provinces of India, a large portion of whom had already migrated into Pakistan and were jockeying for the privileged position in the country similar to the one they held back at home, thereby causing the peoples, whose mother tongues were thus being ignored, apprehensions of conditions building up for Muhajir cultural domination in their homelands;

2. The second unstatesman-like move of Mr. Jinnah, which too served as a divisive move rather than a cementing one for the peoples of Pakistan, was his effort at concentrating all power at the centre and making the Central Government over-whelmingly strong, ignoring completely the rights and privileges of the original Pakistan Peoples with the exception of the people of the Punjab, who by dint of absolute majority in West Pakistan and their monopolist hold on the military forces were already in the position of masters in the country — thereby causing the rest of the smaller peoples apprehensions of conditions building up for the Muhajir-Punjabi political domination in their homelands;
3. The third wrong move, which ignited fires of mistrust and suspicion among the peoples in Pakistan was the move by Mr. Jinnah to send for high Civil Servants from the Muslim minority provinces of India and install them in superior administrative positions in the country, who, assuming thereby airs of alien conquerors, began to rule the local population with haughty indifference to their interest, utilizing their entire power and influence for nothing but nepotism, favouritism and self-aggrandizement;
4. Mr. Jinnah dismembered Sind by cutting off Karachi, its leading city, from it and handed it over to the central administration with Liaquat Ali Khan as its head, for colonization of the city by Muhajirs;
5. Mr. Jinnah persecuted the nationalist Muslim workers in Pakistan ruthlessly, even after he, on his own part, had publically discarded the Muslim nationality theory. This pursuit of mere vendetta, then, shut out all avenues of reconciliation and understanding which was otherwise a pre-condition for taking first cautious steps towards building Pakistani Nationalism in due course;
6. Mr. Jinnah offered, in almost its entirety, the evacuee property of limitless value, left behind by the Sindhi Hindus and Sikhs, to the Muhajirs — mostly the Urdu speaking Muhajirs, hailing from U.P., C.P. and Hyderabad Deccan, who, treating the entire property as nothing but war booty, grabbed it as right-fully belonging to them as victorious

soldiers of Islam and conquerors of the land of infidels. The local (Muslim) people were not only deliberately kept deprived of any share worth the name in this property, but were in many cases, even dispossessed of any customary or legal right they held in it;

7. Mr. Jinnah declaring Pakistan to be the homeland of all the Muslims of the Indian Sub-continent opened its borders to measureless immigration of Muslims from India, exposing the local nationalities, particularly the Sindhis, to the threat of their population to be unbalanced and thus reduced from majority into a minority in their own homelands.

Mr. Jinnah's life did not last long. It would never be possible, therefore, to assess with any degree of confidence as to how he would have translated into reality what he declared, towards the end of his life, to be his belief regarding the concept of nationhood, viz., that religion being a personal matter of an individual, it had nothing to do with the business of the State, and that there was no nation like Muslim nation in the world and that the people of Pakistan irrespective of their religious pursuits, were first, second and last citizens and equal citizens of the State. The Muslim vested interests of the Muslim minority provinces in India i.e., the Muhajirs in Pakistan whose hero and representative he had set himself out to be, did not, however, accept Mr. Jinnah's view point, but all the more-vehemently stuck to their self-induced belief of separate Muslim nation-hood. Their emerging economic vested interests including the ones subsisting in the evacuees property loot, in Pakistan, could not permit them to give up the theory. All this, on the contrary, strengthened their loyality to the theory, since that alone was the guarantee and protection for their illgotten wealth and property and for their privileged position which they had been able to secure in the name of that theory, in Pakistan.

The British imperialism while quitting India, transferred their power in Pakistan to their hench men the Muslim vested interests of the Muslim minority provinces, who collaborated with them originally in their consolidation of power in India, and their Punjabi feudalists and upper class agents, who supplied them with cheap soldiers ready to become cannon fodder in their

imperialist wars outside India and to stand guard as sword arms of their imperialist over-lordship inside the sub-continent. These inheritors of the mantle of their masters in subterfuge and ruthlessness, putting fully to use their newly won powers and through all sorts of propaganda, began their rule with total suppression of the voice of their opponents. The nationalist workers were subjected to torture and ignominy, so as to keep them immobilised completely, and with the help and support of paid local agents and the wildest use possible of the technique of the big lie, the peoples mind was constantly sought to be kept vitiated and fully occupied in irrelevant and vain distractions.

On their part, to begin with, the nationalist leadership, from Bengal, Sind, Baluchistan and Pakhtoonistan, convened into a conference at Karachi on May 8, 1948, and set up an organization, calling it Peoples Organization (Awami Tanzeem), through which they could operate within available constitutional means, for influencing the course of events, which they could already well see was otherwise heading, under the, stewardship of the Muhajir-Punjabi axis toward disastrous shoaly waters. As chairman of the Reception Committee for that conference, the writer gave an address, making, among others, the following points :

"I welcome you, on behalf of the people of Sind, to the land of Sindhu-Desh, which holds a very important place today in Pakistan.

"It is on this land that the destinies of our different peoples are going to be decided, and it is from here that a voice has to be raised for democratic values to be incorporated in the new constitution so that all concerned may secure their rights in Pakistan.

"Friends, the people of Sind have a unique history. It is, therefore, natural that they should struggle to ensure a bright future for themselves as a people.

"Sind has remained the seat of an ancient civilization and culture. The remains of the great Mohen-jo-Daro are witness to it. A number of races and many philosophies merged into one another here and became one. All the same, Sind has retained its individual status and place in history for centuries. Budhism took birth on the land of Hind, but it grew and flourished here on this land. Our glorious Shah Abdul Latif

Bhitai taught the lessons of unity among different sects, communities and religions here on this land, which we may call the message of Sindhu Desh to the worrying world today. In the recent scene of wild hate among human beings staged in the Indian sub-continent, the Sindhis as a people took no part.

"The Sindhi Muslims' struggle for freedom from the British Imperialism started much earlier than the Lahore resolution of March, 1940. It aimed at liberation from the rule of alien masters and also from the domination of the Hindu vested interests.

"It was in the year 1945 that we first realized that under the protective shadow of the Muslim League ideology and organizational strength, the Muslim vested interests of the Muslim minority provinces were aiming at establishing their class domination worst than that of the Hindu vested interests over us. We at once re-appraised our situation and set the course of our struggle aimed at reassurance of freedom for Sind and for other states in Pakistan in terms of the Lahore Resolution guaranteeing independent and sovereign status to such federating states.

"People living in this country speak different languages, and differ widely from each other in their customs and traditions. It would indeed be for the good of the country, therefore, to recognize honestly the realities rather than ignore these differences or to suppress them by overplaying some for effacing the other. Peoples' energies and resources must not be dissipated in defending or saving these differences. It must be remembered that the people are in great love with those differences. They would rather lose their lives than give some of them up. It would therefore be of no good to any body to deny the reality of the existence of nationalities in Pakistan. Any such ostrich-like policy in national affairs can only boomerang, to the detriment of all concerned."

The "Peoples Organization" was set up during the lifetime of Mr. Jinnah. Freedom of association to organize an opposition party for pursuing a political programme constitutionally is a basic right of the people in a democratic state. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Jinnah, after the establishment of Pakistan inspite of all loud claims for democracy did his very worst to suppress

democratic traditions and values in almost every department of life. He took strong measures to crush every bit of democratic aspiration that he could detect anywhere among the people.

On the death of Mr. Jinnah, his right hand man, Liaquat Ali Khan, grabbed the reins of government and held them as despotically and sinisterly as his departed master, particularly to the ill luck and manifest detriment of the weak and smaller peoples in Pakistan.

To speak of Sind in particular, what the Sindhi people suffered under the fiercest and the most fanatic rule of the Muhajir-colonialists under the direct auspices and eggings of this man, may be noted in brief, as follows :

(1) It was Liaquat Ali Khan, who conceived the vicious criminal plan of colonization of Sind by the Urdu-speaking Muhajirs, and for putting the plan into action organized their mass immigration into Sind from their home provinces of U.P., C.P., Hyderabad Deccan and certain native states of India;

(2) It was Liaquat Ali Khan who masterminded orgies of brute mass violence through bands of his trained ruffians against the life, property and honour of the Hindu nationals of Sind, so that they should be forced to vacate their homes and properties to be occupied and appropriated by the Urdu-speaking Muhajirs from India;

(3) It was Liaquat Ali Khan, who with brutal openness expressed his unreserved contempt for the people of Sind and their culture, so that they started counting him as their worst enemy;

(4) It was he who manoeuvred with Mr. Jinnah for award of place of privilege to Urdu over all the other peoples' languages in the country, and for relegation of those languages into the background and for submerging them finally into lifelessness under Urdu;

(5) It was he who laid the ground for dismissal of provincial ministries and their replacement by others through nomination;

(6) It was he who introduced disunity and strife among the members of Sind Legislative Assembly, by tempting some and intimidating others;

(7) It was he who arranged the predatory occupation of houses, lands, shops, factories, banks, business establishments and services of the Sindhis by Muhajirs;

(8) It was he who involved Pakistan as a pawn in the game of international politics of world imperialists, deliberately going out of the way to keep its relations with India, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, its neighbouring countries, as un-easy and difficult as possible;

(9) It was he who set one province of Pakistan against another, sowing poisonous seeds of distrust and enemity among them;

(10) It was he who repeated the name of Islam the most, and also organized Meena Bazars the most — without the least qualms of conscience, and thus destroyed the prestige of Islam almost beyond repair in the mind of men all over the country;

(11) It was he who proclaimed **'Mukka'** mailed fist to be the symbol of politics in Pakistan, and thus pulled it down from high pedestal of being the art and science of civilized living to the depth of a mere wild game of the jungle where might and cunningness alone clinch the issue. It was he who gave coup-de-grace to democracy in Pakistan, and in its place, introduced 'fascism' for the first time in the country.

Liaquat Ali Khan built a total control over the Army as well as the Civil Services through his picked functionaries mostly the Muhajir officers and turned his entire government into a hand-maiden of the Muhajir vested interests. Their senior partners in exploitation, striving to be the sole masters of the show, in due course namely the Punjab vested interests, couldn't accept this situation for long. They therefore, took due steps and got physically rid of the man, and thus freed themselves and the rest of the peoples of Pakistan from the doings of this first Muhajir Empire-building Nawab from U.P. in India.

Then followed the rivalry for supremacy in Pakistan between its two big provinces the East Bengal and the West-Punjab. A number of ministries at the Central Seat of power succeeded one after another as a result of this rivalry. Khuwaja Nazimuddin. Mohammed Ali Bogra, Mohammad Ismail Chundrigar, Chaudhri

Mohammad Ali, Hussain Shahid Suharwardi, Sir Feroze Khan Noon, and the rest quickly stepped on the stage, strutted about a bit, and turned to the exit as the masters of the ceremonies, the Civil and Military functionaries of the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis willed them to do. Till at last, on October 8, 1958, the junta came out in the open, and applying martial law to the country, first installed Iskandar Mirza as the President for twenty days and then removing him from office in a huff, brought General Ayub Khan, the C-in-C of Pakistan Army, fully and truly their own man, on the stage, which he occupied for ten years and ruled Pakistan with ruthless efficiency, serving no other interest except that of the Muhajir-Punjabi Imperialism albeit of native variety.

What actually transpired during the period of this colourful **Gendarme** of the Muhajir-Punjabi **Raj** in Pakistan will be related separately elsewhere. It would suffice here to say that when his rule began getting unpopular, he staged an extremely risky diversion for the people by launching the country into war with India on the question of Kashmir. Finding the going not at all good, he briskly withdrew from war on international advice; and signed the Peace Treaty with India at Tashkent. His irresponsible adventure in foisting war on the country and its consequent after-effects and the general failures and foul actions of his ten years old arbitrary rule gave rise to almost spontaneous angry mass reaction all over the country, which left him with no alternative but to quit the stage. But before he did so, he managed to bring in as his successor, his most obedient second-in command partner, General Yahya Khan, and thus made his exit as safe and unexplosive as possible.

The army and civil service Junta, who jealously and stubbornly stood guard over the Muhajir-Punjabi Raj in Pakistan and whose latest "show-boy" this General Yahya Khan was possessed of mentality completely impervious to considerations other than those of service and benefit of their class interest. They were totally indifferent to the general interests of the country. As to the national interests of different peoples in Pakistan they were positively hostile. Theirs was an entirely small vision. This junta, therefore, hardly learned any lesson out of the miserable doings of their previous shout-boy General Ayub Khan, and only made his successor to go through an exercise of some fringe

actions, without as much as even touching any core problem responsible for the mess they had landed the country in.

The petty measures which the junta initiated through General Yahya Khan in order to remedy the situation were as follows :

(i) Considering the One Unit arrangement of the provinces of West Pakistan to be the main cause of the anti-Ayub commotion in the country, the same was disbanded and the former provinces of West Pakistan were restored;

(ii) For revival of democracy in the country, general elections were announced;

(iii) All political parties were ensured of full freedom to canvas the electorate at the time of elections.

The main and selfish vested interests, who formulated this policy and gave it to General Yahya Khan to implement, failed to realize that without attacking the fundamental problems, their palliatives could never cure the country of its basic affliction and set it on the road to recovery. Their mind, at the time, had certain baseless assumptions before it, on which it was proceeding. Firstly, they imagined that by mere restoration of provinces in West Pakistan, all the unrest and opposition of the smaller units there, will immediately subside and the people will at once settle down well pleased, at the situation. Secondly, they assumed that majority seats in West Pakistan and some substantial number of them in East Pakistan would be won in the general elections by candidates of their own choice, and through them they would thus continue maintaining their way in the country as before. Thirdly, they presumed that since the effectiveness of religion as a weapon of propaganda for keeping the mind of the masses befogged had considerably worn-out, if they now added some handfuls of economic preservatives or piquancies to it, they could well succeed in holding the masses to their side for quite some time longer.

With these calculations in mind, the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis took no time in launching on the political scene in the country the Peoples Party of Pakistan, through their prize piece of show-boy, Mr. Bhutto, with all the three vote-catching cliches of class chicanery tied to its banners namely, Socialism, Democracy and Islam — to hoodwink and hold the masses prostrated under class dictatorship in the name of those cliches. There were several

other cards too held by these Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests to play the game and win it. They had two stalwarts of the pure Pakistan ideology, Khan Qayum Khan from the West Pakistan and Nurul Amin from the East Pakistan, with their moribund political parties in fair trim, who could yet continue full-throatedly trumpeting the name of religion for catching marginal votes and collecting a few decisive seats to tilt the balance their side, if need be.

But the things did not shape themselves completely their way. Their calculations went almost basically wrong. The people of East Bengal, in a national mood of refusal and rejection, swept off the stage every thing and every body except their national organization -- the Awami-League and its candidates, when they voted almost cent percent, and thus declared their loyalty only to their six-points charter of national existence as an independent and sovereign state. In West Pakistan, however, the people, fallen and crushed as they remained under One-Unit, failed to show that grit and that vision, which could be expected from a proud and awakened people out to break chains and jump the wall, no matter what the risk and what the consequences. Among the smaller peoples Sindhi masses particularly succumbed to the verbiage and big mouthfuls of promises held out to them by Mr. Bhutto. The people of Punjab, being sharers, direct and indirect, in the exploitative lot of the Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests couldn't but accept the Peoples Party as their own party. The Peoples of Baluchistan and the NWFP, on the other hand sent up in different proportions, their national representatives defeating Mr. Bhutto's People's Party decisively both in the Central and Provincial Assemblies.

The over-all party position that emerged out of elections for the Central Assembly completely belied all hopes and upset all calculations of the ruling Junta, throwing it into its tantrums. From West Pakistan, over-whelming majority of seats were carried by Mr. Bhutto's party, the Junta's own approved party, while from the East, with the exception of two members, the entire contingent of the elected members belonged to the Awami League, the party hated like poison by the ruling junta and their backing vested interests in West Pakistan. This gave a comfortable over-all majority at the Centre to the East Pakistan's Awami League

members. By all democratic considerations, the power and control of Government at the Centre had to pass over to the East Pakistan Awami League. This the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis and its Army and Services functionaries could never countenance. They, with an alacrity, unprecedented in the world of democracy anywhere, made Mr. Bhutto, their kept, show-boy, groomed for service precisely in such exigencies, to declare that unless he was made a co-sharer in power and control of Government, he would stage a revolt and boycott the Central Legislature and the Constituent Assembly. General Yahya Khan, to play his part of the job at once cancelled the Assembly's inaugural session which otherwise stood summoned at Dacca in the Eastern Wing of the country. Simultaneously, he also started shipping and air-lifting his troops and weapons to that area, although at the same time, he kept the show of discussions and negotiations, in all apparent seriousness going with Shaikh Mujibur-Rehman the majority leader, whom he publicly kept on calling the Prime-Minister designate of Pakistan! When the military build-up in East Pakistan reached the desired point, General Yahya Khan broke off negotiations, refused induction of the Awami League into office, and proclaiming martial law in Bangla-Desh, let his army loose on the defenceless 'miscreant' population of that land. The Army however, could only kill, rape and burn the person and property of the people. As for the spirit of the people, the army could not as much as even touch. The people finally triumphed, and broke asunder the iron chains that bound them, and became free. The dark night of slavery to the Muhajir-Punjabi tenancy in Bangla-Desh was thus over for all times to come.

The concept of nationality on the basis of religion has never been recognized in history, and is not presently recognized anywhere in the world. The Muslim vested interests in the Punjab and in Muslim minority provinces of India invented this theory on account of certain temporary differences with their respective compatriots of Hindu religion, and under patronage and active support of certain British colonialist circles forced the division of the country.

It would also be well to realize that in no country in the world to-day is there any form or system of government, functioning which may be called a religious form of government, nor is there

any possibility of any such form of government coming into being anywhere in future — in face of the fast developing modern conditions of the world.

For the reason of this belief whether sincerely held or otherwise all governments in Pakistan have been finding it their duty to hold out promise of establishing the utopian religious form of government in accordance with the terms of that idea. Since these terms remain all undefined and have necessarily to remain undefined and since the Utopia has to remain a Utopia because of its hundreds of versions, each so un-wise and inconsistent that if translated into reality none may own it. No government is even in a position to carry out the promise of establishing the Utopia with this inevitable inconsistency of word and deed, every government in Pakistan is fated to remain a sitting target for every type of irresponsible and obscurantist propaganda on the part of reactionaries and clever black-mailers. Common man is easily deceived and becomes a willing tool in this game of reaction to keep things disturbed and disorderly, so that their exploitation of the people may continue unabated behind the eddies and storms of illusion and fantasy.

If we look around and see, we find the constitution and form of most of the governments of the world to be secular. It is hardly possible to raise a constitution and form of government much different from it here in Pakistan. It would therefore be better frankly and boldly to declare that can really never be. If we quibble or hesitate any further on this issue now, we would only be exciting the reactionary forces to a pitch very hard, if not impossible, for the forces of progress to face and bring down later. We may therefore appeal to the new president Mr. Bhutto (now Prime Minister) that he may develop enough clarity of vision in this matter to plan for us secular form of government. For if he fails or falters on this issue, the reactionary forces, in the name of religion are going to give him a hell of a time on every move of his to introduce his socialism or the peoples' welfare programme in the country.

Unfortunately, there has never been established a truely democratic or any genuinely representative government in Pakistan. This has been so because of an overwhelmingly superior position seized by the vested interests in the country at

the very start. Governments have been brought in and thrown out at mere whiff of a desire from these vested interests. There were nominal assemblies of elected members on the scene in the beginning but 'dictatorial **Raj**' crept in gradually and occupied the stage almost for the entire period thereafter. Sometimes there was the "controlled democracy" the country was in. At other times there was the "basic-democracy". But democracy of one brand or another, dictatorship in Pakistan functioned insistently through the handy trump card of the Strong Centre for the country.

The facts of the immediate past history of the Pakistan movement and the subsequent experience of the people have now completely uncovered the designs of the privileged classes among the Muslim populations of the Punjab and of the Muslim minority provinces in India in their invention of the two-nation theory and their movement for the partitioning of the sub-continent. Their vital motive behind it all was establishing an unchallenged position of domination and exploitative privilege for their classes in the new country.

The history of the past years is a witness to the fact that these classes of the privileged few did not allow the country to move towards a genuinely democratic constitution nor did they permit any really representative government to come to power in the country. It is now, after a great laborious effort on the part of the peoples, that a popularly elected President (now Prime Minister) has come into power. His party programme and his publicly declared commitments with the people are not all relished by these devilishly anti-people circles. They must therefore be in wait to weaken the President's will or remove him altogether by some means. It is most essential, therefore, that before measures are taken in hand to end their exploitation, all doors of their return to power are decisively closed. Reconstruction and development of a nation in Soviet Union and China are there before us. They have taken years to develop, through totally new approaches, and yet they have not crossed the mark. It is indeed a long term struggle to transform a people into a prosperous self-reliant nation. The President may, therefore, give priority first to those means which should serve the immediate purpose of protecting and prolonging the

peoples' rule in the country, for what would be the gain if, after introduction by him of a few reforms, he himself is pushed out of the way by the over-powering, well entrenched vested interests. Basically, therefore, he should first tackle and overcome those factors and smash into pieces those means by the help of which the vested interests in the country exercise their domination and control over government.

Starting with the establishment of Pakistan, the policy of all its governments has stood based on opposition to Bharat and Afghanistan. On account of this policy, it has been always thought necessary to increase the military strength of the country. Pakistan had to sign treaties and enter into pacts with the imperialist powers of the world because of this policy. It was due to this policy that the country had to go to war three times. Because of its undue expansion and strength, the military forces found an opportunity to interfere in the country's politics which led directly and inevitably to the imposition of dictatorship on the people.

If this matter is probed into a little more, its main cause can be found in the approach of hatred on which politics of Pakistan has been built up from the very inception of its idea, and has been deliberately carried on since, its establishment, and continues to be the basis of it uptill now. Actually, what is needed for the stabilization and consolidation of Pakistan is peace, which can be ensured for Pakistan when its relations with its neighbours are friendly and trustworthy. Its vested interests would, however, never desire that its present hostile policy towards neighbours may ever end, because it is on account of this very policy that under the pretext of national emergency, these vested interests are able to maintain their domination and continue with their exploitation in the country.

The government of Mr. Bhutto runs totally under the control of the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis. In Sind, he has entirely a government composed of his own stooges headed by a Sindhi Zamindar with a majority of Sindhis in his cabinet but they keep on the Sindhi nationalist workers shut behind prison walls, their magazines banned and their books proscribed, and would not release them, personally or their publications, for fear of displeasing their masters.

The leaders of the Peoples' Party government claim that they have given a constitution to the country and have established a domocratic **raj** in Pakistan, and there is plenty of prosperity and happiness all around. It would be well to probe a little into these claims of theirs :

1. First, with this constitution, the thousands of years old nationalities, viz., the Pakhtoons, the Balochis, and the Sindhis, with their distinct homelands, languages, culture, historical traditions and political and economic interests have been denied their existence and, on basis of a false ideology of Pakistan, have been reduced into minorities to remain permanently subject to the unchanging majority of the Punjab nation;
2. With this constitution, Sind, gets mere 21% representation on the Central Legislative Assembly, whereas it bear 80% of the burden of taxation levied by the Central Government in Pakistan;
3. With this constitution, out of 350 crores of rupees collected through central taxation from Sind, only 5% of the amount is spent by Central Government on Sind;
4. Under this constitution, the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling clique finds itself within its rights to work for as full on appropriation as possible by non-Sindhis of Sind's agricultural lands, industries, trade, commerce, and such other sources of people's livelihood;
5. With the help and protection of this constitution, the people from other provinces or even other countries, viz., the Punjabis, Pathans, Beharies etc., take employment in Sind, and an amount of over 50 crores of rupees being a part of their earnings, is sent out of Sind by them to their homelands, annually;
6. With this constitution, Sind, Baluchistan and Pakhtoonistan, the homelands of Sindhis, Balochis and Pakhtoons, are colonised under the pretext of Pakistan ideology, Islamic government and Strong Centre, and any talk about their national and democratic rights is dubbed as a crime;
7. Under this constitution the right and power of export of agricultural produce and all manufacture of Sind vests in the Central Government, and the valuable foreign ex-

change earned through this export is spent by government almost wholly for development out of Sind and for benefit of non-Sindhis. Similarly, all import of goods from foreign countries being outside the power and control of the people of Sind, it is so managed that the economy of Sind always remains shaky and lop-sided and leads to the general poverty in Sind getting more and more aggravated;

8. Under this constitution, the banks, the railways the post and telegraph, the mines and other financial institutions and economic resources being under the sole control and administration of the Central Government, are almost wholly managed by non-Sindhis, there being hardly a one percent Sindhis on the personnel of services engaged in work at these establishments;

9. Under this constitution, the radio and the television works wholly under the Control of the Central Government, and as such function solely for popularising and promoting the interests of Urdu language and the culture of the Urdu speaking aristocracy, particularly from the former United Provinces and the state of Hyderabad Deccan in India. At the same time, these powerful mass medium of publicity and information remain constantly engaged in propaganda, for the fake ideology of Pakistan, almost to the extent of making a fetish of it, all the time denigrating the national languages and cultures of the Sindhi, Balochi and Pakhtoon Peoples;

10. With this constitution, the Punjab, being a permanent majority province, and with its present almost total appropriation of position and rank in the army, is going to maintain for ever its monopolistic hold on the armed forces of the country enjoying thereby the position of an irreplaceable armed **gendarme** for the rest of the peoples of Pakistan;

11. Under this constitution, politics are mixed with religion and has to function on basis of emotion and sentiment rather than on reason of the logic and reality of things, and thus provides sanction for the political, economic and cultural suzerainty of the Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests

over the smaller nationalities of Sindhis, Balochis, and Pakhtoons in Pakistan;

12. With this constitution, it being impossible for a complete restriction to be put or enforce on immigration of people into Sind from other provinces of Pakistan or even from outside (as in case of Biharies). Sind can very legitimately entertain apprehensions to suffer the following injuries to its national interests :

(a) The outsiders, earning money in Sind would remit the same outside, harming thereby Sind's national economy;

(b) The conspiracy of the enemies of Sind to unbalance its population with a view to reducing the Sindhis into a minority in their own homeland. shall be facilitated;

(c) With the increased pressure of population in Sind, its per-capita income shall fall, resulting into increased poverty of its people;

(d) With immigration and settlement of persons of different nationalities in Sind, the national identity and cohesion of the Sindhi people shall be greatly damaged giving rise to national distractions and unrest;

(e) The chains of political slavery of Sind shall be rivetted and will get more strength;

(f) With the settlement of refractory and self-seeking people like the Pathans and Punjabis, and the cunning people like the Biharies, among the open hearted and peace loving Sindhi people, ground shall be laid for social disorderliness and civil strife in the Sindhi Society.

13. With this constitution, the Sindhi people, having once been reduced to a permanent and unchanging minority, must find all avenues before them closed for attaining political liberty, economic prosperity and cultural advancement through democratic and peaceable means of struggle, and must therefore be driven to use undemocratic and violent means for securing their basic human rights as a people.

Mr. Bhutto had his domicile in Sind and therefore many of the people had legitimately hoped that he would never sacrifice the political freedom, economic well-being and cultural viability of Sind in his pursuit for power or, having attained it, in defence of power. But, experience has proved the futility of any such hope in this power hungry and self-inflated person, who in reality has not only thrown Sind and its interests at the feet of his masters, the Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests, but is engaged even in cutting the roots of Pakistan, so that his personal ego and itch for power may be satisfied.

In view of these facts, and some of these would be touched further too later in this book there seems to have remained no alternative for the Sindhis, Balochis and Pakhtoons to work out their national destinies, except one : they must do all they can to liberate their homelands from the strangle hold of Pakistan, for the creation of which they had all signified their consent to start with, but which indeed was shaping itself from its very beginning, as it has finally done now, as a base and a citadel for the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism on them. All constitutional means for attaining their salvation having been denied to them, there hardly remains any way out for them from the impasse, except that they should devise and employ illegal means and every other possible method of struggle for winning liberty from alien slavery, which is their birth-right.

Chapter II

SINDHU DESH AND PAKISTAN

When patriotic workers of Sind take the name of Sindhu Desh, the proprietors of Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests get into jitters. Not only they, but their Sindhi agents.

At first they used to get angry at the slogan of "Jeeay Sind". With them no other slogan except that of "Jeeay Bhutto" was permissible. Then of late, in company with "Jeeay Bhutto" they have however, started shouting "Jeeay Pakistan". The Sindhi patriots read into these slogans of theirs "Pakistan" to mean the base of Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism" and "Bhutto" to mean "a show-boy of that imperialism".

Why do these gentlemen get worked up at the name of Sindhu Desh is also very clear. They smell in the term "Sindhu Desh", "Bangla Desh" just as they did in the term "Bangla Desh" the sentiment of complete freedom for Sind. The correct position too is exactly that. The genuine Sindhi patriot has got so much fed up with the evil deeds of the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialists and their Sindhi agents that, as a reaction, he finds pleasure precisely in a thing, which causes the greatest of displeasure to these Johnnies.

Moreover, with experience, getting more and more mature minded ideologically, the Sindhi patriots go on steadily shaking off the magic of deceptive slogans and fake ideologies. They have very closely examined and put to test the glittering slogans of "Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah Zinda-bad", "Quaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan Zinda-bad", "Quaid-e-Awam Bhutto Zinda-bad". They

have now come to see that what was working behind these slogans was nothing but pugnacous self-conceit in the minds of garrulous autocrats. All the three gentlemen in fact were the "Show-boys" and agents of the Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests, and necessarily, therefore, the enemies of Sind.

Pakistan has proved to be no bed of roses for the Sindhis. The truth is very much the opposite to it. They, therefore, hate these slogans now. Any one who utters these words is taken by the Sindhi people as their enemy and a slave to his alien masters.

Let us find the causes of this change of mind, and examining the true position about Sindhu Desh and Pakistan, know the exact facts about them.

Sindhu Desh

Geographically, if you examine the map of Asia and that of the Indian sub-continent, you will readily see the distinct outline of Sindhu Desh on these maps. It is so because Sindhu Desh has a visibly distinct geographical position on the face of the mother earth, being one of its physical regions, shaped as such, by nature. It has received its name from the river Sindhu, which flows through it and forms its artery, carrying its life giving waters almost from the heart of the land to various parts of its body. The Arabian sea guards it, clinging to its face affectionately. The Runn of Kutchh spreads over vast areas of its south; its east is covered by sand dunes of Rajasthan. There are Bahawalpur and the East Punjab on its north while towards its west it is girdled around in part with the waters of the Arabian sea and the mountains and rocks of Baluchistan. Its forests, lakes, plains, sand dunes, rocks and mountains — every bit of it, and the whole of it, has come into being through evolution over tens and hundreds and thousands of centuries.

Historically, it has a civilization over 5,000 years old. It has a culture, language and a magnificient past, which any nation and any country in the world would feel the greatest of pride to own and cherish.

Sind has a highly rich and productive soil. Its people are affectionate and industrious. Its language, its culture, its people, its mineral wealth, its agriculture, its sea trade and rich marine life — all these are the result of natural growth spread over millions of years. The land and the people of Sind are under no obligation

tor their life and existence to Dr. Iqbal or Mr. Jinnah or any other person of that ilk.

Sindh's religion and civilization has continued being enriched through centuries by the thought and creativity of its leading sons and daughters and by the collective art and labour of its people evolving in response to changing times and conditions of life within and outside its border. It has also been blessed with timely contributions by the best minds and the noblest souls of the world. Krishna, Budha, Zaradusthra, Christ and Mohammad. The Sindhi mind is therefore a free mind, a tolerant mind, a mind surcharged with the spirit of equality, patriotism and a living urge for freedom. The people of this land are not prepared to live as slaves, whether such a slavery is imposed on them in the name of religion, or that of Pakistan, much less under the fraud of Muslim nation-hood.

The word "Sind" is a short term for "Sindhu" and "DES" is Sindhi form of the Sanskrit word "Desh" which means 'homeland'. If certain persons with closed minds do not follow the sense of this word, all that can be said about them is that "deaf, dumb and blind as they are, they will not understand". Sind has been the home of a great ancient civilization. The archaeological sites at Amri, Mohen-jo-Daro, Kot Diji and scores of such mounds are living witnesses to it. Different races and beliefs have found a meeting place here. It has seen great up-heavals and suffered heavy blows during the course of its momentous career of thousands of years. It has yet survived and maintained its distinct entity culturally, geographically and also historically.

We easily see traces here of Dravidians, Aryans, Semetics and Mangoloid races. More than these racial strains, we find here the inter-mingling of elements of various religions and philosophies, forming a singular approach to life, catholic in its range and application. Budhism was born in India yet, at one stage, it grew and flourished here. The influences of its philosophy of abnegation **(Nirvana)** were very much there, when Islam with its affirmative stance arrived in this land. The two trends joined and gave rise to a type of an **Impersonal** positivism which sought to stand above the **anti-thesis** between materialism and idealism claiming partisan-ship among philosophies at war with one another. Similarly, the **vendanta** and the **Vahdaniyat** with **advaita** (absolute non-duality) of one and 'Tauhid' (absolute oneness) of the other, met and recognized basic

identity of each other and merged in a single all embracing approach to life here in Sind. The Yogis of Jainism with its **'ahimsa'**, the doctrine of compassion restraining man from doing injury to any living being, influenced the mind of the people on one hand, and the doctrine of Hindu Sanyas (withdrawal from wordly ties) and their music move the Muslim Soofis into accepting the same in the body of their teachings, on the other. An instance of such a confluence of ideas and thoughts is not found anywhere else in the world.

While passing through different phases of history, Sind has seen and suffered on its soil clashes and conflicts between a variety of forces and powers. There have been times in its history when its star seemed nearly to have set for ever. But history stands witness to the resilience of Sind and its good fortune and courage to get on its feet again, and march onwards, inspite of everything.

The Sindhis are fond of living like good neighbours. But they have never put up long with alien domination. They have not hesitated any time to learn good things from foreigners. But at the same time, they have never agreed to forget their separate existence, or to give up their own individuality. Sentiment of national identity and desire for freedom have been the basic elements of their traditions throughout their history.

The people of Sind are a separate nation on the basis of all principles recognized the world over as the principles essential for nationhood. Those principles are (i) separate homeland, (ii) separate language, (iii) distinct culture, (iv) a body of historical **traditions** and (v) existence of special political and economic interests. Let us examine this claim to nationhood of the people of Sind, in the light of the principles noted above. We have already described above their HOMELAND at some length. We may now take up the examination of the case of their nationhood in the light of the principles.

Language :

The peoples language in Sind is Sindhi. Modern studies in philology and linguistics have discovered the roots of this language in the five thousand years old Mohen-jo-Daro civilization. By accidents of history and long passage of time, this language, as it now is, has absorbed quite a number of words from foreign languages with which it came in touch. Originally Sindhi was a

Prakrit (a people's dialect) of an Indo-Aryan language, which has since gathered in its vocabulary words from Dravidian, Arabic, Turkish, English and Persian tongues. This Language is not a hybrid like Urdu, which took shape as an upstart body of expression in army camps through artificial and short term contacts among different elements. Sindhi is an old, well connected and naturally and fully developed language, which has its roots firmly and deeply fixed in the past.

Whenever Sind lost its freedom and passed under subjection to an alien people, they invariably tried to destroy the Sindhi Language by force, through enticement and with a non-congenial educational process. The Arabs used their own language as court language in Sind instead of Sindhi, and through religion, as a vehicle, tried to impose that language on Sind. But the Sindhi, people after a short passage of time threw out that alien rule. With the exception of a certain number of Arabic words and its script, the Arabs left nothing behind in Sind. Sindhi language, in any case, remained as pure and unsullied, linguistically speaking, as before. The same was the condition with the Mughal period of rule in Sind. They promulgated Persian in Sind, even more systematically than the Arabs. But that too couldn't do much of harm to the mother-tongue of the Sindhi people, except leaving a certain number of its words in its vocabulary. During the British occupation, the English ruled the roost as the court language in Sind. But that too had to quit, adding a few words to the wealth of the Sindhi language. The language of the people of Sind not only survived all these adverse onslaughts, but even prospered by passage of time, adding more and more of worth and substance to itself.

At present, the Muhajir-Punjabi 'Imperialism' is trying their worst to thrust Urdu language on the Sindhis, and are using all the modern means and methods of publicity, education and sociological pressure for the purpose. But it is absolutely certain that, inspite of every thing including the treacheries of the ruling Sindhi Agents of the Muhajir-Punjabi clique, the language of the Sindhi People will survive and grow from strength to strength as it has done in the past.

Culture :

Culture is a comprehensive word. It covers the physical as well

as the spiritual assets of human existence on earth. On one hand, it included the moral, the intellectual and the psychological assets and on the other, the material means for the social, economic, and political vitality, which a people may have produced for carrying on as richly and fully as possible, the business of living as human beings.

Culture is the word with which we describe the indestructible and exexhaustible expressions of human thought and feelings. Just as the light of the Sun is essential for the survival of all living objects, in the same way culture is essential for the physical and spiritual health and improvement of nations.

As already stated, there have been Dravidian, Aryan, Semetic and Mangoloid races and others, who, in families and tribes, have settled in this land through the course of centuries. There have been Samaats, Rajputs, Luhanas, Muhanas, and clans of Pathans, Baloch, Arab and such other origins, who have all joined into one Sindhi people, forgetting their languages, customs and traditions, costumes, manners, folk-lore and such other tribal, or sometimes even national, peculiarities with which they originally arrived on the scene, and having participated in the business of living here, have helped a very common culture to grow in Sind. Ages old relations, common needs and requirements of life, inter-marriages, the climate and other general environment and, above all, dependence on common means and sources of livelihood have all contributed to the levelling of the initial differences among them. All these elements, in due course, fell into a pattern, adopting a common tongue, dress, folk-traditions, religious approach, social customs and behaviour, and thus assumed a national completion distinctively of its own form, which they now proudly call the Sindhi culture.

Thousands of years passed by before the process took this shape. The entire psychological, social and intellectual character of the Sindhi people today is a reflection of that culture that took ages to form.

Historical Traditions and National Character

People's national characters are formed in the course of thousands of years, under interplay of forces and influences of physical and social environments including climate, food, racial and inter-racial habits and trends, religious beliefs and practices, developing

internal social relations and their relations with their neighbours and other outside peoples, etc.

Some of the peoples attach uncommonly great importance to the purity of racial stock, and it becomes a point of prestige with them, even to the extent of an obsession, and they resort to murderous feuds over the most ordinary incidents of breach of their accepted norms of social life. Some of the peoples have greater sense of loyalty than others. Some are more hospitable than others. Some people are militant and aggressive and take violence to be a fair arbiter for settlement of disputes, while others being peaceable peoples, consider violence to be the root cause of all chaos and disorder in life, and show their marked preference for non-violence. Some of the peoples believe love and fraternization to be of the greatest good for human life, while with others, hate and confrontation is the rule. Some people are more altruistic than others.

Patriotism with some peoples is as important as the very breath of life, for others the very idea of motherland is an anathema, and they base their entire national existence on denial of it. Some peoples are known for tolerance and forbearance as their national character, while others are similarly known for their bigotry and fanaticism. There are some peoples who find the secret of life in the sentiment for liberty, and consider it their right as well as their duty to struggle for it. There are other peoples, who remain content in slavery and prefer the easy and comfortable way of living a dependent and protected life to the hard and risky living under freedom and challenge.

It is not necessary that all the members of nation should be the carriers of a national stamp and, under all circumstances, manifest it in their conduct. In every nation, quite a number of the people are indeed a loose lot and often the majority of them are unmindful of any particular national quality or trait. But there are always some persons in the nation who represent the best that is in it, and can be held as exemplary carriers of the national character. However, the criterion for discovering the national character of a people is its folk-lore and folk-traditions and its literature, which invariably store the likes and dislikes, preferences and biases of the best and the most active minds among them. Such preferences

or biases of a people can most legitimately be taken as the features of its national character.

The writer having given some thought to this subject, has identified the following traits to be the typical features of the national character of the Sindhi People :

(1) Attachment to social tradition and sense of social pride :

The People of Sind have an extra-ordinarily great regard for social traditions. The great epic of Dodo Soomro is illustrative of this basic trait of their national character. Dodo, the immoral hero of the epic, sacrifices himself and his entire army, and all the ladies of his royal family burn themselves to death, in the battle for national liberty and social honour against the foreign invaders rather than purchase peace and right to rule by offering his sister Baghi's hand in marriage to the enemy as the price. Marvi, the heroine of the great folk-story of Sind, provides another moving illustration of this feature of the Sindhi character. Though a simple shepherdess, she rejects all enticements and pressures of the ruler of the day to be his queen, and maintains her social prestige and attachment to tradition of remaining loyal to her betrothed shepherd youth, Khet. The history of Sind provides innumerable examples of this undying characteristic of the Sindhi people who often prefer death to over — stepping the bounds of one or the other wholesome social tradition of their life or to suffering an insult to their sense of social pride.

(2) Hospitality :

This trait is ingrained deep in the Sindhi character. If in a village, a guest arrives in the house of even the poorest of the poor, he would stop his own children in the course of eating, and place the ready food first before the guest. If there is nothing in the house to feed the guest with, the host will raise a loan and serve the guest as fine a food as possible. The Sindhi people have suffered grievously on account of this trait of their character, and an adage with them reflects that reality viz., "She came in for the ember, but remained in the kitchen as the cook". In quite a number of cases, alien rulers and tribes have taken an unfair advantage of the hospitality of the Sindhis. The living example of the treacherous conduct of the lately arrived Muhajir-Punjabi colonialist is now unfolding itself before them with all its faith shattering

repercussions. But, inspite of everything, "the guest that has arrived at home must never be turned back".

(3) Non-violence :

The Sindhis are generally a peaceable people. They are not quarrelsome. They are hardly ever aggressive. They never attacked any country or nation. Because of their peacefulness, they are even dubbed as timid and cowardly by their enemies. Their gentleness as a people is taken to be their weakness.

The People of Sind treat it as an act of courage "to turn away in position of strength". It is mainly with them "to withdraw for the sake of peace". It is good manners among them" to avoid pressing the point". Differences are to be preferably settled by mutual understanding. Even the wrong must be resisted non-violently to a degree. But one must fearlessly speak out before the strong and the mighty.

Non-violence is the sign of courage, not of weakness. It is absolutely essential to struggle for freedom, peace and happiness in life. But there are different modes of the struggle. There are some who impose by force their opinions and beliefs on others. There are others who, considering the principles of "common struggle for existence and mutual survival", do not exceed the limits.

(4) Love :

The difference between the animal and the human behaviour is that in one case pursuit of self-interests leads to the path of hatred and confrontation, resulting in strife and conflict, while in the other the business of living is carried on with love as guide to unity, peace and happiness.

The social customs, the political behaviour and the religious beliefs of the Sindhi people are permeated with the bening spirit of love. This has been the message of all the leading thinkers, the saints, the poets, the teachers, the writers and the social leaders in Sind throughout its known history. In the divine words of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, the immortal poet of Sind, "Nothing avails in life, except the love you carry in your heart".

(5) Altruism :

One of the great principles of Sindhi character is to give up personal benefit for the benefit of others. This is the limit of civilized human conduct that love alone can reach. In the folk-story of Mumal Rano, the heroine deliberately sacrifices herself so that

her love may prosper in life. There are hundreds of such stories of self-sacrifice in the folk-lore, history and literature of Sind. To impoverish onself in showing hospitality to other to give up life for defending the weak who may have sought protection under one's roof, never to prefer material wealth to the grace and dignity of family ties, forgetting one's sorrow in the sorrow of others — all these traits of Sindhi character have their full share of traditional and recorded instances available in the life and history of the Sindhi people.

(6) Patriotism :

This is the sentiment with which the Sindhi hearts are ever full and almost over-flowing. Shah Abdul Latif, the saint poet of Sind, and almost every other poet of Sindhi language, has eulogized this sentiment through the undying character of Marvi, the simple rustic heroine of the folk-story known after her name. The Hindus of Sind, who used to go overseas in pursuit of their business, invariably returned to Sind with their earning to be spent in the villages, towns, and cities of their motherland in the midst of their compatriots here. Even now, almost all of the Hindus and Sindhi Muslims, who have, for one reason or another, left Sind and are living away from the banks of its affluent Sindhu and from its generously overgrowing plains or from its barren desert sand-dunes and the bare mountains of its Kohistan, are immediately moved to tears when some one mentions the name of their beloved country to them. Raja Dahar's heroic defence of Sind till the last breath of his life, the self-sacrifice of Dodo Soomro and that of his family for the freedom and honour of his land, Dullah Darya Khan's fight to death, along with his sons, on the battle field defending Sind, Shah-Bilawal's silent suffering of being broken and crushed to death in the oil press for defiance to the attacking enemy, the young Hemu Kalani's death by gallows for his fight against the British Imperialists, are some of the outstanding examples of the love and devotion that the people of Sind bear in their hearts for their mother-land.

(7) Tolerance :

The Sindhi is basically an open hearted and tolerant person. He absolutely knows no bigotry or fanaticism. The way in which the poets of Sind, Shah Latif, Sachal Sarmast, Rohal, Fakee, Sami, Dalpat, Bedil and many others, have generously tried, through

their poetry, to bring all the different religions together and unite them on the basis of the abiding values of human good, is indeed unparalleled in its excellence of appeal and the impact it has left on the minds of their people. Bigotry and tolerance are mutually contradictory habits of mind. Where there is tolerance, bigotry will find no place. How can the persons who have just entered Sind with skin-fulls of bigotry and fanaticism find any affinity of mind with the Sindhis? Sind is the Centre of tolerance. Pakistan is intolerance and bigotry personified. Kinship of the two is impossible. The minds of the majority of the new comers are petrified under religious prejudice and hatred on one hand and selfishness and hypocrisy on the other. Where there is fanaticism, hatred is bound to grow, and hatred is the fountain head of all strife and disturbance and war.

(8) Resistance to tyranny:

A moving example of this trait of the Sindhi character, can be seen in the fact of their present struggle for freedom that they are waging, even though they well know their helplessness before the superior forces of the enemy. They are weak in number. They are unarmed. They are also divided. Their enemy possesses great strength. It is wild and ruthless. Yet, for saving the national traditions, for re-asserting the national dignity, for defending the national honour, the people of Sind are carrying on their struggle, oblivious of the consequences.

In Sind, different religions and philosophies have met and attained a unity, which is bound to be a blessing for mankind.

Sind has a message of love and peace for the world.

Sind carries the mission of bringing about an integration of the Eastern and Western civilizations, to the lasting good of the whole world.

PAKISTAN

As against Sindhu Desh, Pakistan is an accident of history, a freak of nature. Unlike Sind, Baluchistan, Pakhtoonistan and Punjab, Pakistan is not the product or creation of nature, nor has it any entity comprising one nation, one language, a culture or any identity of economic or political interests.

Pakistan has come into being as a result of clash of exploitative vested interests in India of the Hindu capitalists and bureaucracy on one hand and those of the Muslim feudalists and bureaucracy

on the other. It was born out of conspiracy of the Muhajir (immigrants from Bharat) and Punjab Muslim vested interests to establish a haven of protection in which they could set up their exclusive base of political power and economic exploitation. It is being used and kept alive for the sole benefit of these vested initerests. It has no past traditions. It is the name of an artificially new-born country of 25 years of age.

What has transpired in Pakistan in the brief period after its establishment has proved its existence to be useless and made its future positively harmful. It is a rule of nature that things which come into being temporarily and for emergency reasons, have to disappear after serving their momentous role. A similar fate seems to be lying in wait for Pakistan.

There has been corruption galore in Pakistan, almost unprecedented in the modern world. There has been a total suppression of the rights and interests of smaller nationalities in Pakistan. These things are writ large in the brief pages of Pakistan's life. The tyranny, the exploitation and the unethical practices that have taken place here in the name of Islam have hardly a parallel any where in the world. The country is being run by the Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests only as their own fief. It has therefore lost whatever little utility it had at the start. The balloon must burst sooner or later. The artificial ideology viz; the Ideology of Pakistan, which stands in such a flagrant conflict with God's ideology i.e. the nature's own ideology of nationhood, cannot be destined to last long.

Pakistan is not a physically formed natural region of earth. Geographically, it is no country at all. It came into existence as the result of temporary economic, social and political differences in the Indian sub-continent. The Muslim vested interests of the Muslim minority provinces and the Muslim vested interests in the Punjab misled the Muslim majority provinces of the sub-continent first in the highly emotive name of religion, and secondly by promising them each an "independent and sovereign" existence, and thus carried them along and succeeded somehow, in establishing the country. The Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests however, immediately forgot all their promises and commitments with their brothern in faith in the Muslim majority provinces. Instead of "Independent and Sovereign States", these provinces

are now being ruled by them as mere colonies. Under these circumstances the larger part of Pakistan, viz, the East Bengal, has already gone out of it, leaving Sind, Baluchistan and Pakhtoonistan to continue eating the bitter fruit of their initial creduality and zeal in moving into the trap.

For the period of full 25 years, Pakistan could not give itself a Constitution for the simple reasons that the People of East Bengal stood firm against any Constitution that could legalise and perpetuate the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialist hold on them. When at last the people of Bengal, realising their destiny to lie outside the frame-up, jumped out of it, the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis could find itself free to impose exactly such a Constitution on the remaining three peoples of Pakistan, who couldn't stand in the way of the juggernaut of the absolute majority of the Punjab rushing such a Constitution through in the Assembly. The three peoples thus rounded up under the additional deception of democracy, Islam and Pakistan being already in use for the purpose, couldn't however, be reconciled to the state of permanent and unchanging majority rule of the Punjab-Muhajir vested interests, which is precisely what the Constitution has imposed on them. The national liberation struggle, therefore, of the Pakhtoons, the Balochis, and the Sindhis has to continue developing till they secure their "independent and sovereign" states as the Bengalis have done in Bangla Desh. It is history's irreversible verdict that nations can never remain slaves for ever.

Let us now briefly review the reasons and arguments that were put forth in support of Pakistan. Those reasons and arguments were the following :

(i) that Muslims were a separate nation because of religion;
(ii) that Pakistan was the homeland of Muslims from India;
(iii) that the state and society of Pakistan were to be governed under the laws of Islam, and they were to be the models for the whole world;
(iv) that the constituent people of Pakistan shall be independent and sovereign.

Separate Nationhood of Muslims

History proves that Muslims have never remained united on the basis of religion not to speak of their being a nation on that account. There are at present more than 350 religious sects among

them, each considering itself alone to be the true follower of Islam and hence entitled to salvation, and all the rest to have strayed from the path and therefore destined for hell.

The sudents of history also know that Muslim peoples have fought wars against one another, resulting into colossal bloodshed and huge massacres. Muslims have invaded the Muslims, and conquered and occupied their countries. Never in history have any Muslim people established anywhere a state or a government as a Muslim Nation. Every such establishment, was known under the name and style of the tribe or nation which founded or controlled it. There were Umayyads, Abbasides, Iranians, Afghans, Turks, Mughals, but never simply Muslims as a nation or ever nations any time and any where in the world. Even now, nowhere in the world does any nation live or act as a Muslim nation. There are over a hundred, 135 nations constituting the United Nations Organization of the world. There is not a single nation claiming membership of that organization as a Muslim nation.

Here in Pakistan, we have on the contrary, peoples with distinct languages, distinct homelands, exclusive and almost irreconcilable economic and political interests. There are countries contiguous to each other and speaking a common tongue, with Islam as almost a common religion of their peoples, like, say Iran and Afghanistan and the Arab countries, but yet they do not and can never live together as one nation under one state or government simply because they are Muslims ! Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar are separate countries. North of Yeman and South of Yeman are separate states. Syria and Lebanon are independent and sovereign countries. There are thus over fifteen Arabic speaking Muslim countries, who are not prepared to live in one State and under one government. How then can the Sindhis, the Balochis and the Pakhtoons, each with their separate homeland, language, history, culture, and traditions and distinct political and economic interests, be forced, in the name of Islam, to live as subject peoples under Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism in Pakistan ?

All the member states of the United Nations Organization believe in the modern secular concept of nation-hood. The State of Israel and the State of Pakistan are the only two exceptions. Israel even as Pakistan has been implanted as a foreign matter on the Arab land, at the cost of millions of innocent people

having been uprooted from their hearths and homes, and is even now being maintained by world Imperialism as a base for world reaction. It is somehow free from the internal malady of any one oppressor nation crushing the rest of the smaller nations within its borders, as is the case here, where Punjab with over-all, absolute and irreplaceable majority, in conspiracy with immigrant Muhajir vested interests as its junior partners and its pack dogs in the hunt, particularly in Sind, is pressing literally to the wall the Sindhi, the Balochi and the Pakhtoon peoples in Pakistan.

The past history of twenty seven years in Pakistan has proved that this religious concept of nation-hood, which the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis have all the time insisted on using as an ideological instrument to serve their exploitative interests, has been the main divisive factor among the different peoples in Pakistan and has brought about nothing but instability and disorder in the country. If today in Sind, the people raise the slogan of Sindhu Desh and demand complete independence for their homeland, it is because of the treacherous ideology of Muslim nation-hood under which the Muhajir-Punjabi colonialists are holding their deadly grip on them.

The ruling clique in Pakistan is out to suppress, even the most innocent voice that is raised in defence of the rights of the smaller peoples, by charging it as the voice of anti-Pakistan, and anti-Islam disruptionists. Mr. Bhutto was indeed the last hope for Pakistan to save itself and hold it together with the free consent of smaller nationalities, but the policy of fascist suppression of People's national aspirations, which he soon started following after coming into power, proved how malicious greedy and short-sighted his policy making mentors were. The Sindhi, the Balochi and the Pakhtoon peoples are getting more and more disillusioned and convinced of the utter impossibility of obtaining any just and fair response to their national hopes and aspirations in Pakistan. They see their national future safe only in breaking asunder their chains and becoming free, and establishing their own independent and sovereign national states, just as their brethern, the people of Bangla Desh, had to do in similar conditions.

Pakistan the Homeland of Musalmans from India

Pakistan's rationale hardly improves with this argument. Why should, after all, the Sindhis, the Balochis, and the Pakhtoons ac-

cept this position. If the Musalmans of India had necessarily to be moved out of India and settled amongst their brotherly Muslim peoples, the entire 'Muslim brotherhood' of the world should have shared the burden. As it is, only the Sindhis, Balochis and Pakhtoons, and among them too mostly the Sindhis, have borne and are still bearing the brunt of it. These peoples had never subscribed to this principle, nor had they bound themselves by it. It is a false and baseless argument manufactured only to provide an unabashed cover for colonisation and exploitation of the homelands of the smaller nationalities in Pakistan.

Pakistan an Islamic Society with an Islamic State

This argument had greatly moved the people here, before the establishment of Pakistan, but after its establishment, it leaves them cold. The way the local people have been exploited, and the limits to which corruption, adultery, drinking, black-marketing, adulteration, smuggling and other social and political evils are day to day rising and flourishing in Pakistan, has removed all blinkers from the eyes of the people. They now know that in Pakistan, Islam's name is taken precisely for providing justification and cover for 'anti-Islamic' deeds.

All the right-minded people in Pakistan today know that there is no country in the world which may have an Islamic constitution, and that no constitution could indeed be either Islamic or Hindu. Modern Constitutions of states or countries have to deal with life's problems in the present age.

As a matter of fact all this tall talk about Islamic State etc. is aimed at deceiving the credulous mass and keeping their minds diverted from their real problems, so that they could all the more safely and all the more thoroughly be exploited and kept crushed and helpless as slaves under their masters.

Independent and Sovereign Constituent States of Pakistan

Under the All-India Muslim League's Lahore resolution of 1940, and under the Sind Legislative Assembly resolution 1943, the constituent states of Pakistan had to be 'Independent and Sovereign". In 1946 at Delhi, a convention of Muslim League parliamentarians, without any mandate of the mother organization and in total disregard of its basic constitution, subverted this solemn declaration of intent behind the political demand for Pakistan and adopted a resolution aimed at the establishment of unitary

state for Pakistan. At that very time, most of us could see through the game and we knew that the Sindhi people were being deceived and double-crossed. Subsequent developments thoroughly exposed the rapaciousness of the fraud thus played on Sind, NWFP, Balochistan and Bengal. It was because of this rank betrayal of the national interests of the peoples, that East Bengal subsequently left it and asserted its independence and sovereignity which was treacherously denied to it by Pakistan. The recognition that was universally accorded to it by all nations has indeed paved the way for the remaining constituent nations in Pakistan to demand and struggle for the restitution of the same status also to them.

A Case for Sindhi Desh

The anti-people ruling class in Pakistan and its agents come out generally with the following arguments against Sindhu-Desh, in order to discourage and weaken the will of Sindhi patriots :

1) Sindhu Desh is a small country and hence will not be viable as a state;
2) It is hard and difficult to snatch freedom from the strong Muhajir-Punjabi ruling junta;
3) It will be treason to Pakistan to win freedom for Sindhu-Desh with the aid and support of foreign countries;
4) Sind will be a loser if it separates from Pakistan;
5) Pakistan is a great Muslim country, and it will be a sad blow to Islam if Pakistan disintegrates;

In the following pages, we will deal with these spurious arguments of the enemies of the Sindhi people.

(1) SINDHU DESH A SMALL COUNTRY

The agents and spokesmen of Muhajir-Punjabi Raj, which is keeping Sindhu Desh under thralldom, say that Sindhu Desh is a small country. Factually, however, Sindhu Desh is not a small country. It is a bigger country in many respects than a great majority of the countries, who are members of the United Nations Organization, as may be seen from a comparative statement showing the physical area, population and national income of 91 out of 135 such member countries, given below. There are many countries, unbelievably smaller in all respects than Sindhu Desh, which are free and independent and are the siting members of the United Nations.

The Statement Giving Details of 93 Countries of the world, 91 of which are the members of the UNO but in many respects are smaller than Sind.

No.	Name of the Country	Area in Sq. Miles	Population	Income in Millions of Dollars
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Albania	1629	29,75,000	1,000
2.	Baharain	220	2,15,000	—
3.	Barbadasis	166	2,50,686	160
4.	Belgium	11,755	96,46,000	25,700
5	Bhutan	18,000	7,70,000	—
6.	Bolivia	5,14,155	48,04,000	920
7.	Bostuvana	2,22,000	6,29,000	—
8.	Bulgaria	42,823	84,64,264	—
9.	Birundi	10,747	33,40,000	230
10.	Byelo Russia	81,000	90,03,000	—
11.	Cambodia	70,000	70,00,000	760
12.	Cameroon	1,43,500	56,80,000	990
13.	Sri Lanka	25,322	1,22,40,000	2,120
14.	Chad	4,95,000	35,10,000	60
15.	Congo-Brazil	1,32,000	8,80,000	230
16.	Costa Rica	19,656	16,95,000	920
17.	Cuba	44,206	85,53,495	—
18.	Cyprus	3,572	6,30,000	540
19.	Czechoslovakia	49,381	1,44,18,000	—
20.	Dahony	44,649	26,40,000	240
21.	Denmark	16,576	49,21,156	15,570
22.	Dominican Republic	18,699	43,24,766	1400
23.	Equador	1,04,505	59,73,300	1,400
24.	Sylvador	8,236	33,90,000	1,010
25.	Fiji	7,055	5,13,000	—
26.	Finland	1,17,975	47,07,000	10,200
27.	Gibon	1,03,000	4,75,000	310
28.	Gambia	4,000	3,60,000	50
29.	Ghana	92,100	85,45,561	2,460
30.	Greece	51,182	87,36,367	9,540

1	2	3	4	5
31.	Gautamala	42,042	48,62,530	1,840
32.	Guineonea	94,937	40,00,000	320
33.	Guineve	83,000	7,31,098	250
34.	Hitti	10,700	46,71,461	440
35.	Hundras	43,227	25,00,000	690
36.	Hungary	35,912	1,03,14,442	—
37.	Iceland	39,709	2,03,442	480
38.	Ireland	26,060	29,21,000	4,100
39.	Israel	8,050	29,95,000	4,390
40.	Ivory Coast	1,24,510	42,00,000	1,420
41.	Jamaica	4,411	18,61,000	1,180
42.	Jordon	39,050	22,50,000	—
43.	Menia	2,24,960	1,08,90,000	1,580
44.	Kuwait	6,000	7,33,196	2,750
45.	Laos	89,320	11,40,300	220
46.	Lebanon	3,400	26,45,000	1,530
47.	Lizoto	11,716	9,30,000	90
48.	Lyberia	38,250	11,34,000	350
49.	Libya	6,79,358	18,75,000	3,140
50.	Luxumberg	999	3,38,500	1,000
51.	Malagaski Republic	2,27,800	66,00,000	280
52.	Malta	122	3,22,353	230
53.	Maldive Island	155	1,14,600	—
54.	Mali	4,65,000	49,29,000	510
55.	Malvi	45,411	45,30,000	320
56.	Mauritania	4,19,000	11,20,000	180
57.	Morocco	1,80,000	1,50,30,000	3,340
58.	Mauritius	787	7,89,686	—
59.	Nepal	54,600	1,08,45,000	890
60.	Netherlands	12,868	1,29,57,621	31,150
61.	Nicargua	57,145	18,41,759	840
62.	Nigeria	4,84,000	40,16,000	320
63.	Norway	1,24,502	38,66,468	11,390
64.	Oman	1,24,556	7,50,000	—
65.	Panama	28,575	14,17,000-	1,010
66.	Paragua	1,57,000	23,86,000	580
67.	Portugal	35,500	99,78,800	6,220

1	2	3	4	5
68.	Ruanda	10,169	36,67,000	—
69.	Qatar	4,000	1,30,000	—
70.	Senigal	76,104	38,00,000	700
71.	Sierolyon	27,925	25,00,000	430
72.	Singapore	224	20,33,000	1,970
73.	Somalia	2,16,200	27,30,000	180
74.	Sudan	9,77,000	1,55,08,000	1,890
75.	Swaziland	6,704	4,51,000	90
76.	Sweden	1,73,665	80,13,696	32,580
77.	Syria	71,210	62,94,000	1,590
78.	Tanzania	3,73,665	1,29,26,000	1,330
79.	Thailand	2,00,418	3,47,38,000	6,510
80.	Togo	21,220	19,56,000	270
81.	Trinidad	1,864	10,10,000	840
82.	Tunisia	63,362	45,33,351	1,230
83.	Uganda	91,076	97,64,000	1,300
84.	United Arab Emirate	—	3,30,000	—
85.	Voltaec Republic	—	—	310
86.	Yeman	75,000	57,28,000	460
87.	South Yaman	1,12,075	12,50,000	140
88.	Yogoslavia	98,725	2,15,00,000	—
89.	Zaire	9,05,582	1,71,00,000	1,950
90.	Zambia	2,90,556	40,56,995	1,680
91.	Barama	800	1,95,000	—
92.	Switzerland	15,900	62,69,783	—
93.	Sind	56,447	1,40,00,000	8,000

The figures in the above statement indicate the position of Sind vis-a-vis other countries. Thus, among these 92 countries, Sind stands inferior to 36 in physical area, to only 3 in population and to only 7 European countries, in annual revenues. In other words, Sind is a bigger country than 56 out of these 92 countries in area, 89 in population and 85 in annual income from general revenues.

(2) IT IS HARD AND DIFFICULT TO WIN FREEDOM

The ruling class in Pakistan, by their shortsightedness and instability, set the entire course of their oppressing and exploitative state machinery to bear down on the weaker nationalities and crushing them into abject surrender. The Bengalis, Sindhis, Balo-

chis and Pakhtoons saw no alternative before them but to stir themselves into a posture defiance. There was a rising unrest among them which could never be crushed. In the gathering storm, East Bengal secured its freedom. The Baluchis and Pakhtoons are in the midst of the fight. The Sindhis stand awakened and their moment for national freedom under the slogan of Sindhu Desh has already commenced. Quite a number of them are suffering for indefinite terms of imprisonment in jails. Some have sacrificed their lives for the cause. The struggle for national liberation of people in Pakistan is fast reaching its decisive stage. All freedom struggles have been hard and difficult. No fighter for freedom has waited till it became soft and easy to take it. Every freedom struggle has to start from a position of weakness, gathers strength as it proceeds along and confronts the enemy at the last decisive moment from a position of strength when it delivers it a knock out blow and sends it to hell.

The world opinion is bound to awaken to the plight of the suffering peoples under the Muhajir-Punjabi tyranny in Pakistan. It is not going to ignore the issue and remain silent for long. Countries like the Soviet Union, Bharat, the Arab world, Afghanistan and other democratic and freedom loving peoples the world over have long established traditions of responding to the cry of liberty in whatever quarter it has risen in the world in the past. One can never imagine that on knowing and realising the true situation, they would ever refuse or hesitate to provide help, moral as well as material, to the freedom fighting peoples. The Sindhi people with grit and courage, have to bear sacrifices and carry on a sustained struggle for their liberation, which is their national duty. It is absolutely natural that the democratic and freedom loving opinion in the world will soon stir up and put its weight on their side in due course.

"The righteous and upholders of truth — even though in smaller number are bound to gain victory over the wicked upholders of falsehood".

(3) IT WILL BE TREASON TO WIN FREEDOM FOR SINDHU DESH

This argument too is manufactured by the agents of Muhajir-Punjabi Imperialism in order to hood-wink the innocent and simple minded Sindhis. The argument in its full import runs as

follows; "Well, brother, listen ! These imperialists are extremely powerful. They have the army behind them. They receive arms from foreign countries. They are also clever and well-informed. The entire press is at their service. On the other hand, the Sindhis are divided internally. Their leaders are the abject slaves of the alien people, due to their personal interests. Under these circumstances, it is vain and fool-hardly to struggle for freedom. Now, if we seek and obtain help from any outside governments, we are bound to turn slaves to such governments. The present rulers at home are after all our brethren in faith. We should therefore better remain satisfied with our present state of subordination to them".

These arguments are all a means to deceive, and only advise cowardice and timidity. Every body knows that the imperialist ruling class is powerful. Among the subject people there are always every where a few exceptional persons, who are fired by a sense of national duty and come out in the open supremely indifferent to danger and take the risk of accepting the challenge and confronting the enemy knowing fully well his strength and their own weakness. But as the struggle proceeds, more, and more of their companions and compatriots join them and the peoples of the world take notice, and offer them help and advice, as happened in the case of Algeria, Vietnam, Bangla Desh and the people of Arab lands.

The Muhajir-Punjabi Imperialists, who exploit the smaller nationalities in Pakistan in the name of religion, must realise that the Sindhi people would not be prepared to live in slavery to them for ever. The Sindhi people do not even believe them to be real Musalmans; they who call themselves the standard bearers of Islam and wish to rule over them on that account. The Sindhi people consider them to be oppressors, predators, exploiters and imperialists. The Sindhi people believe it to be their national duty to gain freedom and to secure help for the purpose from any and every quarter sympathetic to them in their cause.

With these hypocritical Muslim rulers of Pakistan it is perfectly alright to receive aid from America by all means and in all forms, including deadly fire-arms, and to use the same for oppressing the smaller nationalities and keeping them under abject submission. They would push the country into war-pacts with the imperialist powers for the sake of these weapons. They would buy

oil from Arabs and send it to America to save its hardship, from Arab embargo on oil. They would feel no qualms of conscience to play a broker on oil between Iran and Israel. But they would certainly cosider it 'Kufr' on the part of the Sindhi people if the latter could find the possibility of some sort of sympathy and help from others in their struggle to save themselves from economic strangulation and political enslavement of the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism. They should, however, now remember that the Sindhi people are no more terrified by these edicts of 'Kufr' and Islam, for those have been used against them with such an abundance and prejudice that they no more cause any quiver in their mind. The Sindhis are now determined to pursue their liberation struggle by all available means and to the bitterest end. There indeed remains no other choice before them either.

(4) SIND WILL BE A LOSER IF IT SEPARATES

The protagonists of the Muhajir-Punjabi Raj and their Sindhi agents say that on establishment of Sindhu Desh as a separate state, the exploitative vested interests of the Punjabis will stop waters of the river Indus from flowing into Sind, and thus bring about a literal wreckage of agriculture in Sind, throwing its entire economy into ruin.

Actually, after the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, Government of Punjab unilaterally went back on their agreement on the distribution of Indus waters with Sind, which was solemnly entered into between the two governments in 1945, and built barrages on the Indus depriving Sind of its legitimate share in its waters. The Central Government of Pakistan being under the sole charge of the Muhajir-Punjabi clique, aided and abetted this wilful contravention of the agreement by the Punjab Government. Knowing no restraint, they went on for such heavy withdrawals of water from the river that their over-supplied lands developed seepage, to an almost irretrievable extent. They are spending limitless amounts of money now to control the menace. It is really impossible for them, under the circumstances, to go in for any further withdrawals of water from the Indus. In years of draught with rivers flowing low, they can, of course intercept bigger quantities of water even now, and disturb the cropping arrangement in Sind. But Sind's continuation as a helplessly dependent part of Pakistan can hardly prevent them from going their way in such eventualities. That may

even encourage them all the more to do their worst, unafraid of any repercussion, or retaliation from any side. In abnormal years of high flood discharge or even in the normal years of discharge, they cannot obstruct the flow of the needed quantities of water down the Indus and cannot as such do any injury to Sind's normal agriculture. If they did, they might only face disaster of the type they had to face in 1973 when almost the whole of the Punjab stood flooded and literally sunk in water. The Ayub regime in Pakistan, at the active promptings of the Punjab government, sold away the entire waters of their three rivers to Bharat, but even that country had to leave the waters free to flow down the rivers at high flood level so that they caused ruinous floods in the Punjab as well as in Sind.

The adequacy or otherwise of irrigation water for our agriculture in Sind, will therefore basically, still depend on the source of water supply of the rivers flowing down the Himalayas and through their catchment areas sprawling over part of India and Pakistan. The only difference that can be rightly visualised would be that, with Pakistan, we will be in a helpless condition of dependence on the Punjabis, and without Pakistan as a free and independent State, we will have a strong bargaining position being the guardian of the sea coast, and providing the only opening to the Punjab for its over-seas trade and commerce. Sind serves and may serve for a long time to come as a source of livelihood for hundreds of thousands of Punjab nationals. This could be another bargaining ground with us, besides innumerable others, as between two free and equal states, to arrive at a mutually beneficial arrangement on the Indus basin waters and other such issues on State to State level with the Punjab.

(5) IT WILL BE A BLOW TO ISLAM IF PAKISTAN DISINTEGRATES

The Muhajir-Punjabi imperialists and their agents argue that Pakistan is the biggest Islamic State in the world. To break such a state will be tantamount to striking a grave blow at Islam. This is a presumptuous argument. Neither Pakistan is the biggest Islamic State, nor will its break-up be a blow to Islam. More Musalmans live in Indonesia, Soviet Union, China, Bharat and Bangla Desh than they live here. The State of Pakistan and its government have had nothing to do with Islam. The arrogant claims have been deli-

berately put forth by publicists of the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling clique in order to project them before the peoples of Pakistan as saviours and protectors of Islam, and thus to divert the peoples attention from the real problems of the country.

The ruling class in Pakistan, by their unabashed insistence on mis-government and cynical consistency in mis-behaviour, and by their loud and unrestrained Islamic pretentions have literally turned Islam into a laughing stock before the world. It is at their hands in Pakistan that Islam seems to have lost its entire credibility. No country in the world could match Pakistan in this. It is here that in the name of Islam, the thousands of years old nations, the Sindhis, the Bengalis, the Balochis and the Pakhtoons, have had their right of self-determination snatched away from them, and have had the status of minorities imposed on them. It is here that in the name of Islamic law, man has been denied his basic human rights. It is here in Pakistan, that people have been deprived of democracy. Labelling the state as an Islamic Republic, all types of gambling, drinking, adultery, exploitation and all kinds of vicious corruptions have been permitted to flourish in the country. It is true, there is a paper provision for a Muslim to be the Head of the State, but one after another, we have had only drunkards, corrupt exploiters and unscrupulous liars as our rulers in Pakistan. All of its governments have been the most deliberate agents of American and pro-American imperialisms, who were mainly responsible for the plantation of Israel on the Arab lands. The fact is that after the establishment of Pakistan, the word 'Islam' has been misused, as probably no other word has ever been in the world. Islam as a hope of hundreds of millions of people in Pakistan and in the world has received a crushing setback as a consequence, and lies today in the dust as an extinguished flame. It is in the interest of Islam and not against it that this situation is remedied immediately and thoroughly.

Liberation of Sindhu Desh promises to be just that remedy. For, that precisely is going to facilitate restitution of Islamic values of truth, fairness and justice in our land. With liberation of Sind, we would be liberating ourselves from the rule of violence operating in the name of Islam, from slavery to American Imperialists, from subjection to war pacts with super-powers, from the subterfuge

of the combined incongruity of religion and politics, from all exploitation and oppression of the alien people.

It is obvious that the establishment of Sindhu Desh can only be secured with the ending of the present set up in Pakistan. A people comprising more than half of the population, in what started as Pakistan, have already left it and founded their own free and independent state of Bangla Desh. The Pakhtoon, the Baloch, and the Sindhi people are disgusted with its existence, having been greatly injured in it and are praying constantly for its expeditious end.

A Word to the People of the Punjab

It would not be out of place here to address a word to the people of Punjab, our esteemed brothers, with whom we have hardly any quarrel, except in so far as their exploitative overlordship hurts us. May be these words rising from the depths of our hearts could strike a common chord of humanity between our two peoples, and the varieties of powers and temptations of ambition, now over-stepping bounds with them, may get pacified and settle down to their normal limits.

"Brothers, yours is indeed the majority of Soldiers and the fighting men in the Army. It is indeed a fact that you are greater in numbers than the Sindhis in population. You are of course superior to the Sindhis both in finances-as well as in technical knowhow. Like strong, imperialist nations, you do certainly possess power to dominate and keep under control the Sindhi people and other peoples in Pakistan.

"We would, however, very earnestly request you to look around and see that imperialist nations are really disappearing from the world scene now. The big and mighty empires, starting with the Roman Empire and then the Turkish Khilafat, the German, the French, the British and the Czarist empires have all vanished.

"Presently, worked up on self-interest, force, and wrong ideological notions, you have secured a strong grip on the smaller nations in Pakistan. But if you deliberate on your situation coolly you will see that instead of any lasting gain out of it, you are likely to suffer only disaster in the future.

"Yours was the heritage of love and humanism which was left with you by your cultural traditions as manifested in your national literature from your divine poets like Shah Bahu, Khuwaja Farid,

Guru Nanak, Bula Shah and others. You had already arrived at a level of tolerance and catholicity based on the fundamental Quranic teaching : Your religion for you the best; my religion for me the best and as a result, reached an integrated nationhood on the bed-rock of co-existence of religions and fusion of races within the borders of your homeland.

"Yours has been a sweet language, which has been your mother tongue for thousands of years. Even today you speak it at home. You have a charming and quite an elevating body of literature in your language. Your immortal poets have sung in it and brought you divine words of love and beauty in it. But you in your fond tutelage to the Muslim vested interests of the Muslim minority provinces adopted Urdu as your language of culture and began diverting yourselves with unprecedented callousness of the cultural inheritance, which tens of centuries of life accumulated for you as a guarantee and stamp of your national existence.

"You, after countless sufferings and tragic periods of alien bondage, asserted your national dignity, and gained your free and independent status as a people during the days of the Sikh resurgence. In the modern times, your great statesmen, Sir Fazle-Hussain and Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, revived that sentiment of national dignity, and created the great unity of the Muslim-Sikh-Hindu Punjabi People. These were the grand days of your national re-birth, and the soul stirring anthem of patriotic effusiveness of the Punjab people used to be heard on the radio- 'Oh, the country of countries, our Punjab. What a sad reversal, that your fatal weakness before the enslavers from the Muslim minority provinces of India should have made you forget your patriotic duty, and accepting the bait of temporary gains, you should have divorced your 'country of countries anthem' and played up, for narrow and temporary class, the small and artificially created differences among your religious communities. And that you should have broken your 'Land of five Rivers' and cut your people into two, at war against each other, to the delight of the fallen, effiminate, cunning 'Nawabs' of U.P., C.P. and Deccan in India !

"You have thus seen your homeland divided. You have reduced your language to the status of a mere vernacular and have adopted a foreign language instead of your own language of education and culture. You have given up the way of love and huma-

nity and have instead taken to hatred and force which first led you to a split from your Sikh and Hindu compatriots, and then has pushed you in a position of wild confrontation with the Bengali, Sindhi, Baloch and Pakhtoon peoples.

"You can always bear in mind that the Sindhis can never be befriended on condition of denial of their mother-land and under compulsion or through exercise of fascist politics. You would do well in this case to heed the lessons of past experience. You can capture the mind of the Sindhis, and of the other peoples who are your smaller neighbours through the teachings of the best and the gentlest of your ancestors, Shah Bahu, Khuwaja Farid, Bula Shah, Guru Nanak and such others, but not through fascist mentors and religious teachers like **Allama** Iqbal and **Moulana** Maudoodi, and never through your army generals and their batons.

"The only way for you to follow under the circumstances is to establish a free, independent and sovereign state in the Punjab, which is your own glorious homeland. Let also the Sindhis, Balochis, and Pakhtoons found their own free, independent and sovereign states in their respective homelands. With mutual understanding and, on the basis of common interest, the four states can arrive at a fair and just agreement out of their own free will, directed at the solution of all their respective difficulties and problems, including the developmental problems and those of overpopulation, unemployment etc. of your people in the Punjab. Under such agreements between equals, the Balochis and the Sindhis will gladly accept your educated and skilled man power for manning their services, industries, learned professions and even the police and the armies.

"Following the ideological lead of the anti-patriotic Muslim exploiting classes from India, your ruling classes blundered into accepting the partitioning of your homeland, the Great Land of Five Rivers — tumbled into three wars with Bharat, have abandoned the glorious teachings of love, and humanity of your saintly elders, and hardly made any lasting gains out of these self-brought national disasters, and have only aroused hatred and built hostilities around yourselves in the bargain.

"No heavens will fall with this kind of break up of Pakistan. The world has already seen such break ups and dissolutions, leaving the world all the more sound and glorious. The grand ancient

empires of Alexander the Great, Ashoka the Great. The Roman empire, and the British, the German, the Russian and the French Empires have all fallen and vanished. The holy Christian Empire under the Popes, and the Muslim empire under the Khilafat of Turks, have all dissolved and gone away from earth, hardly leaving any traces of their existence behind. If, therefore, this Muhajir-Punjabi imperialist frame-up disintegrates, none will shed a tear and the world will hardly raise its brow over the event."

Chapter III

SIND UNDER PAKISTAN

We have described above the people's expectations from Pakistan, and how it turned out to be only a base for the Muhajir-Punjabi Raj, and became a prison-house for difficult nations that unawaringly walked into it.

We will discuss in this chapter briefly what Sind has suffered under Pakistan, and will see the causes of the Sindhi people's disenchantment with it after they participated so glee-fully in its establishment.

Shah Abdul Latif, the great poet of Sindhi language has an immortal line on this type of human experience where disappointment with a thing attained is as complete as the exuberance and wonders involved in the pursuit of it; "Oh, the credulous one! what you took to be the Jewel proved to be a worthless stone. The flower garland you took to wear round your neck, was only a band of prickly thorns." This has exactly proved to be the state of affairs with us in Pakistan. Our entire body is covered with sores. What ointment to apply and where, for healing these sores, is our dilemma. Would that there be a human soul sensitive enough to listen to the sad account of our plight and join with us in lamenting our lot, if only to lighten the burden of our hearts beats! The story of our suffering is not meant for oppressors, exploiters and imperialists anywhere inside Pakistan or outside. It is also not meant for the mulish ears of the self-seeking and sold out Sindhi Politicians, who have no where to go but to their masters, flatter-

ing and begging of help and power, nay for the very permission to breathe and live.

(1) The cruelest of excesses perpetrated on the Sindhi people after the establishment of Pakistan, is the denial of their separate national existence as a people, which they enjoyed for thousands of years of their history.

The Muhajir-Punjabi ruling classes and their Sindhi agents say that there is no nation like the Sindhi nation and that to call them so is a penal offence callng for punishment under law. Pakistan be damned and its ruling classes and their agents go to the devil, who say so. They have not only deprived the people of Sind, of their right to freedom, and having enslaved them misappropriated their means of production, fully to their own use, but are engaged in so affecting their mind that they should grow oblivious of their state of slavery, cease protesting against it and even begin cherishing it. This conversion of mind they intend to bring about in the Sindhi people by denying their separate national existence ignoring their thousands of years old culture, traditions, language and economic and political interests and by substituting spurious exercise of mind on a malafide deviationist interpretation of Islam.

But the patriotic Sindhi mind, with a sense of pride of nationhood will never accept this grafting of foreign intellectual stuff on it. During its history, Sind has been invaded and conquered several times by foreign agressors, but never has it been imposed upon so wickedly as this time. The Arab expansionists, through the means of religion, made their impression almost on the entire life of the Sindhi people. A great many words of their language entered the Sindhi vocabulary. The very script of the Sindhi language was changed. Several of the indigenous tribes were lured to give up their original names and adopted Arabic names. Proper names of persons in many cases were replaced with Arab names. Some of the people were even tempted by the prestige attaching to the ruler class to trace their geneology to Arab. All these things, some of the Sindhi people of weaker clay, adopted in face of strong traditions to the contrary in the name of Allah and His prophet.

At the same time to begin with when the land was conquered by Arab Army under Muhammad Bin Qassim the people saw the royal ladies from the households of their defeated Rajas as also the thousands of young innocent girls from the commoners, caught

and taken away to the slave markets of Arab lands and also gold worth nearly 20 crores of rupees of the then prevalent value from Sind Treasury looted and removed to the Darbar of their Khalifa at Damascus, apart from other untold quantities of goods and amounts of wealth gathered as war booty and distributed among the predatory troops of the conquering army. When the people saw all this greed and beastiality of the Muslim Arms in actual play before their very eyes, they stood amazed, hardly able to reconcile in all with the sacred name of Allah and His Rasool which also went on simultaneously being raised with equal vigour and zest in that strongest of the strange world.

The ancestors of many of us arrived in Sind from that world. They started overawing the poor and simple people and weak dwellers of the land by their assumed airs of religious, social and cultural superiorities. Slowly, and gradually the mind of the simple, defenceless people was moulded and they started accepting the change and even approving and welcoming it. Every wind-bag from outside was an oracle in Sind. But this period of feeling inferior before the outsider soon came to an end. The outsiders married in the local families. These ladies, our mothers and sisters, kept their links with their traditions and culture strong and so alive that instead of giving their children Arabian names, they gave them their Sindhian names and spoke with them in Sindhi. They stuck to their indigenous customs on occasions of marriage, death, etc; maintained their all attachment with their costumes, ornaments, food prepartions, house-hold apparel and furnishings and hundreds of such things of daily living which constitute the warp and woof of a national culture. Thus the Sindhian way of life not only survived but took firm roots in the families raised by out siders in Sind because of the built-in strength and resilience inherent in the Sindhi culture.

The two leading families of Sayeds in Sind are known as the Lakiari and Matiari Sadats. The ancestor of the Lakiari Sadats, Sayed Ali, arrived in Sind straight from Arabia. The names received by his two sons from their Sindhi mothers in Sind were Wagon (Song-Bird) and Chango (the Good one). They in their turn gave their children Sindhi names of Parpio (the victorious), Boolan (dear as the nose-ring) Nindo, Bakhar (the shining one) etc. Among the Matiari Sadats we come across the first names

like Jhando (The Flag), Jeeyo (lives long), Toorpio (Begets many children), Chhatan (wearer of fine hair) Nathan (the skillful) etc. The Sommara and Samma tribes later adopted the religion of Islam but retained their original names for their children, e.g. Chanegar, Dodo, Bhuongar, Tamachi, Nindo, Punhoon, Koran, Ari, Baghi, Chattul, Ladi, Marvi, Sasui, Sohuni, etc.

Shortly later however known, the Sindhi people drove away the Arab occupation forces and set up their own independent rulership in the country. Then followed incursions of foreign hordes armies into Sind — the Pathans, the Tarkhans, the Mughals and the British with varied consequences of triuphs and defeats for its people, affecting its political fortunes in a variety of ways. Every occupying people left their cultural traces on the language and culture of Sind. None of these foreign peoples, who invaded, conqured and ruled Sind for certain periods of its history, ever denied the distinct national entity of the Sindhi people. No written history of any period of its life, and any language, has denied the separate national existence of Sind and the Sindhi people either.

As against this, in the present period of their history, that has set in as late as August, 1947, the Sindhi people are being asked to forget that they are Sindhis, and to transform themselves into a new nation which has neither a name nor a language, which it may call its own. Is this illusory nation to be called Muslim nation or Pakistani nation, they are not yet decided on it. And Urdu being the language of none of the people in Pakistan except of some 2% of its population, the Urdu speaking immigrants from India, can only be the foreign language for this new nation, whatever be its blessed name ! There can be no greater atrocity of fact or fiction, history or culture than the one involved in this exercise at manufacturing an illusory nation on the one hand and nullifying several other historically established and very much living and flourishing nations on the other.

(2) The Second cruel excess which is being perpetuated on the Sindhi people is the denial and defacement of Sindhu Desh, which historically and geographically has, for centuries past, remained a distinct and separate country and its forced merger as a mere part, in an artificially created country like Pakistan. The Sindhis do not accept this position. They, on the contrary hate Pakistan and reject it as only an artifice, a framework specially devised for their

enslavement and for the enslavement of other smaller nations, the Baluchis and the Pakhtoons, which have been similarly merged by force.

The Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests first merged Sind into One-Unit in a huff and tried to efface the name of Sind from every where—the railway stations, the postal stamps, the textbooks (including ones on Geography and History) the mile-stones, and road posts etc. But soon they saw that by mere effacement of the name in scripts, Sind as a reality could not be conjured away. They, therefore, with equal alacrity, dissolved One-Unit, and restoring Sind only in name as a Province, imposed it in the iron framework of the strong Centre, and having seated a Sindhi show-boy on the top of the framework, have started exploiting Sind securely and systematically as if it was their ancestral Jagir.

The Sindhi people have tried various means to mend this situation. They have tried all arguments with the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests to see reason. But, in the words of Holy Quran, "Deaf of hearing and blind of sight, they would not understand". They ride roughshod, power-inflated as they are, over every legitimate desire and sentiment of the weaker peoples in Pakistan. The Sindhi people have now reached the conviction that the situation has to be ended, and there remains no way out for them except blasting the ramparts of the fortifications or tyranny and fraud that is Pakistan, and raise the walls of Sindhu-Desh on the ruins of it, to live in security and with honour as a people in their own felicitous and free homeland.

(3) The Muhajir and Punjabi immigrants deceive us in the name of Muslim brotherhood. But, actually, they hate their Sindhi Muslim brethren, and treat them only as achhuts (Untouchables). They say, "Sindhis were ignorant people and we have enlightened and reformed them" (daily "JUNG"); "Sindhis were slaves of Hindus, we have freed them from slavery ("Daily Jung"); Sindhis had no knowledge of Islam, we have taught it to them" (Maulana Maudoodi); "The Sindhi culture is that of Donkey-cart and Camel-cart drivers" (Liaquat Ali Khan); "Sindhi is the language of the illiterate and uneducated" (Liaquat Ali Khan). As against this, they have high airs about themselves such that, in the words of Allama Iqbal, "God himself first consults them and then manages his affairs!" Sindhis however, now know that these

"chosen people of God" are nothing but disgusting blasphemers. They are predators par excellence and utilize the name of God and Islam only as a ruse to rob people. They are the enemies of the Sindhi people. As long as they are not ejected from Sind, neither Sind nor the Sindhi people will remain safe.

(4) The Muhajir-Punjabi Axis in Pakistan started ruling their subject peoples in Pakistan by creating internal disorders and divisions among them, and whittling down their provincial autonomy to farcical limits. To begin with, even though Khuhro commanded majority in the Sind Assembly, Mr. Jinnah overriding his claim, made Sir Ghulam Hussain the Chief-Minister of Sind. Shortly afterwards, the latter was pushed up as Governor and Khuhro was rehabilitated to his rightful place. But soon he was sent to jail, and Pir Illahi Bux, the rank opportunist was brought in. On his dismissal as member of the Assembly by Election Tribunal, Pir Illahi Bux went out and in came Yousif Haroon. A little time later Kazi Fazul-ullah replaced Yousif Haroon. Once again Khuhro was called in, and then expelling him from politics, Sind was thrown under Governor Raj, the Governor being the hardcore Punjabi Mr. Din Mohammad. The 'yes-man' Mir Ghulam Ali was then ushered in, but getting displeased with him, they withdrew him and brought in Abdul Sattar Pirzada, permitting him the luxury of 12 ministers. This funny drama was all enacted during a short period of eight years, from August 1947 to 1955.

To the misfortune of the gentle-men ushers of the Muhajir-Punjabi court, the last choice of theirs, i.e. Mr. Abdul Sattar Pirzada, proved to be the most inconvenient and provoking for their masters. It was under his Chief Ministership of Sind that:

(a) The Sind Legislative Assembly, through a unanimous resolution, demanded restitution of the city of Karachi to the province of Sind;
(b) The Sind Legislative Assembly, by a unanimous resolution, protested against discrimination in recruitment to services under Central Government, in grant of permits for installation of factories, and in issue of licences for import and export against the Sindhi people;
(c) The Sind Legislative Assembly adopted, with minor amendments, a resolution solemnly declaring Sindhis a distinct

people with basic and inalienable national rights;

(d) The Sind Legislative Assembly through an act established The Sind Cultural Development Board — the Sindhi Board the Sind Provincial library and Museum, and Shah Abdul Latif Cultural Centre at Bhit Shah as its three departments, and sanctioned an amount of 40 lac rupees as initial funds for that Board to finance its activities;

(e) The construction work of the two barrages on river Indus in Sind at Kotri and Gudu, was expedited, with a view to forestall interception and diversion of heavy intakes of Indus water by Punjab Government;

(f) The Government of Sind showed unreadiness to succumb to the pressure of the Central Government for grant of the agricultural lands on Sind barrage to the military personnel and others from Punjab and outside;

(g) Pirzada Abdul Sattar himself as representative of Sind in the Pakistan Constitutional Assembly, joining hands with the Bengali members managed to have appropriate clauses incorporated in the proposed constitution of Pakistan, which on the one hand granted a great measure of autonomy to provinces and slashed down powers of the hardcore Punjabi Governor General, Ghulam Mohammad, to interfere in the internal affairs of the Provinces, on the other.

All these doings of the Pirzada Ministry of the Government of Sind infuriated the Muhajir-Punjabi Imperialists beyond measure. By this time, the Punjabi ruling clique, after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, had succeeded in establishing their controlling influences on State Administration. They now hatched their notorius One-Unit Plan for gaining total control over the economic resources of smaller provinces in West Pakistan, and asked Pirzada Abdul Sattar to agree to Sind's merger in the Plan, which he, after consulting his colleagues in the Sind Cabinet and the Legislative Assembly, declined to do. Mr. Khuhro, who at the time was under expulsion from public life for six years and was not even a member of Sind Legislative Assembly was called in and he, for his own reasons, agreed to collaborate.

During the period of administration under One-Unit what Sind suffered has already been briefly touched at several places in this book, and need not be repeated here. There is however, one

touching incident of which the writer was a personal witness at Lahore, the Takhut-Gah of the newly established Punjabi "Kingdom" in Pakistan, which may appropriately be described here as symbolic of the plight Sind and the Sindhi people had reached under One-Unit.

One-day while I was standing on the broad steps leading to the Punjab Assembly Hall in Lahore, I saw an old Sindhi woman, clad in rural attire, with a child in her lap and a bundle of clothes on her head, standing at some distance from the Assembly Hall on the road. She had evidently brought some grievances to be submitted to the power that be in Lahore. No one had remained in Sind to listen to her. She was probably advised that on the days when the Assembly met, she could personally see the Sindhi members and visitors outside the hall in Lahore. And she had come all the way from her distant village in Sind to the land of the Hakims to tell her tale of woes. But the police had stopped her at a distance, and she was not being allowed to come near the steps of the hall. No member and no minister took notice of her, and she stood there, a symbol of our neglected, helpless Sindhi mata-weak, frustrated and lonely. I sat in a corner on the steps and wept.

The sad incident recalled to me what my friend Ali Muhammad Shah Rashdi had told me at the time of our defeat at elections eve of the establishment of Pakistan. We, a small band of Sindhi nationalists had stood up alone to the joint stolidity of Sindhi officers, zamindars and intellectuals dragging Sind, under inspiration from Jinnah, the arch traitor to Sind, and pushing it under the wheels of the on-rushing Juggernaut of the Muhajir-Punjabi Raj camouflaged under the highly attractive name of Pakistan, but they had not listened to us. There was hardly any time for any body to listen to reason and the game was already lost. Rashdi had then said, "Mian Murtza, most of the big men in Sind have lost their sense of shame. To make them understand the situation by arguments or appeals was useless. The only way to rouse their sensitivity is to subject them to a calamity. They would only then know what suffering is and realize the pain of it."

But I was not in favour of that kind of ruinous shock treatment. Rashdi too, some time later, therefore left us, and stepped forward to compound his 'Prescription' and pour it down the throat of his

patient. He helped bind Sind hand and foot and threw it down to the ground into One-Unit. Seeing his masterful role in this sordid affair of One-Unit formation, I also recalled the words of one of his earlier political writings produced by him at the time when we were jointly engaged in almost the last-minute struggle to save Sind from being driven under the wheels of the juggernaut. This is what he had written then :

"All this high handedness is being inflicted on Sind in the name of the Unity of Musalmans, and behind the smoke screen of struggle for Pakistan — as if it is the command of Islam that in its name we may establish organisations precisely for using them as bases for wrong doing. Under this scheme of (Pakistan) Islam itself is being used as a hiding place for thieves. If Pakistan is a good thing, it cannot be built through evil means. So far as Sind is concerned, the scheme of Pakistan is only a pyre for burning Sind as sacrifice to the devil of hate. In Pakistan we will have to forget all our past, and give up all aspirations for our future growth and development.

"We will have to destroy our national being. Alien people will impose on us constitutions as suits their needs and desires. They will utilize all the means of production of Sind for their interests. Sind shall become the clonoy of Punjab." On one occasion, during those days, Allama I.I. Kazi had said :

"Pakistan will not be a place of refuge. It may prove to be grave yard. . It cannot be a health resort for the ailing Musalmans. It will have no drugs and vitamins for turning him healthy. It may prove to be his death chamber, where he may breathe his last without saying his last Kalma. Through the False ideology of Pakistan and through the organized movement for it, the entire programme of life as shown by holy Quran, is being negativised and contradicted."

(5) The One-Unit scheme launched by the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis with the fondest of hopes of providing stability and efficiency to their exploitative machinery in Pakistan, soon started floundering. Only two years after it was launched, they could not maintain it, except through Martial Law, which they imposed on the country on October 8, 1958. Once again they rounded up all nationalist workers in Sind including the writer and Kazi Faiz Mohammad, Ghulam Mohammad Leghari, Shaikh Ayaz, Hyder

Bux Jatoi and others. All nationalist literature which was published before the establishment of Pakistan or subsequently was proscribed, Public Press was put under control, and Judiciary was intimidated into submission. All democratic freedoms were withdrawn and basic human rights suppressed. The leadeshrip of Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests withdrew into the background and put General Mohammad Ayub Khan in the forefront as their 'show-boy', and carried on their rule under the umbrella of the army with the help of black laws promulgated through Ordinances.

During his ten years dictatorship, General Ayub Khan visited various parts of Sind annually, scouring district after district in persuit of game. The top-men in each district vied with one another to serve as his huntsmen. Untold amounts of money were wasted on the hunting parties. Hundreds and thousands of men, officials and non-officials were called to make arrangements on each of the occasions at every place to render General Ayub Khan's sporting week ends as successful and pleasant as possible. Indeed, the whole of Sind became a big hunting ground for full ten years not only for the General but in the matter of hogs, patridges, ducks stags etc. but for every exploiter, big or small, slinking and scurrying behind him and snapping at every thing which came his way to fill his pet-belly with. The Sindhi people went on being robbed of their lands, services, trade, and business opportunities, education, culture, human dignity and all, while their Pirs, Makhdooms, Mirs and Vaderas continued feeding and faltering General Ayub Khan and playing clowns and huntsmen to him at his drink parties and shooting fiestas.

The Ayubian period of the Muhajir-Punjabi Rule in Pakistan was the period of Rule by Might. Imitating Hitlerite methods, all political parties except the Muslim League-had been either banned or rendered lifeless. The ruling party served as the hand maiden of the dictator ruthless efforts were set afoot to flatten all peoples in Pakistan by passing Islam's steam roller over them, and render all "unevenness', of language, tradition, culture etc. among them into a dead uniformity. But since there was an implacable steel coating of unevenness even on the roller itself, the object could not be achieved. The roller, all the same, went on turning, under the selfadulating slogans of Islam, Muslim Nation, Pakistan, Urdu etc. depriving the smaller peoples of the

very right to exist in security and peace.

The drivers of roller blind of sight and stagy in approach did not realize that the minds of men were not made of clay or metals, which could be driven through a mould and shaped arbitrarily in a set form and size. Had it been so, all this variety of nations, languages countries, faces and colours would not have come up in the world. This richness of difference in things around is not without purpose. Nature, in its infinite potency for good, has assigned to every bit of differing colour, shape, size or inner content, a use, which is both special and necessary. There are yet, certain insensible minds, who being unintelligent and tyrannous minds, would insist on reducing this manysided splendour of nature into a gloomy sameness. This, however, is beyond them to accomplish.

It is said of our friend Mohammad Amin Khoso that back in the thirties, when he was studying in Aligarh, he came under the influence of Dr. Mohammad Ashraf, a communist, and began propagating non-conformist views about religion and other matters among his fellow — students, which certain communalist teachers in the University did not relish. One day, the pro-Vice Chancellor of the University Professor Abdul Halim, sent for him and told him. "I am informed that you are spreading disruptive views among the students and creating discords among them!" Mohammad Amin Khoso is said to have replied. "That is not correct, Sir, When God's own prophet couldn't leave the people firm on the right path or united, what influence can poor Amin Khoso have on such people to keep them away from discord which is a deep rooted and primeval in them as that".

Actually, behind all that fanfare regarding Islamic Unity and Muslim brotherhood, the exploitative interests of the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling classes went on consolidating their political stranglehold on the smaller peoples in Pakistan, with a view to facilitating seizure by them of the economics of these peoples and harnessing the same totally to their own use. It was during this period that the Muhajir-Punjabi Army officers and civil servants in particular and the Muhajir-Punjabi elite in general fattened and battened to the extent that they over-spilled their limits. The phenomenon of 23 families monopolising bulk of wealth in

Pakistan was the product of these times.

It was during these days that even the mention of the word "Sind" was held to be an offence. The Muhajir-Punjabi oriented propaganda with slogans of Muslim-Nation Islami Raj, Ideology of Pakistan etc., was to full blast, depressing the mind of the Sindhi people into indifference or hopelessness about the cause of Sind. On the writer's chance release from jail in May, 1966, we examined this depressing situation, and gave shape to a group of workers calling it "Bazma-Soofia-Sind" (The Council of Sind Mystics) and under its auspices, addressed ten public gatherings on anniversaries (Melas) of leading mystic saints in different parts of Sind, from June to December 1966. At these gatherings, we sang, discussed and talked patriotism in the context of Sind, Hindu-Muslim Unity, tolerance, national interest of the Sindhi people and so on. The Sindhi Vaderas, Officers and traders had, no doubt, mostly entered into an equation of service dependence and 'yes-men-ship' with their Muhajir-Punjabi masters. Many of them served as their conscious agents, working probably against the national interest of the Sindhi people. But the urge for freedom and spirit of self respect and communal harmony had, fortunately remained in tact among the broad masses of the people. Our Bazma gathering, therefore, aroused very enthusiastic response among the Sindhi people and attracted huge audience everywhere. The Muhajir-Punjabi ruling circles did not take long to move in. They declared the Bazma illegal, and put a ban on all its gatherings, and the writer alongwith several of his associates including Shaikh Ayaz, the national poet of Sind and Comrade Hyder Bux Jatoi and others were arrested and put into jail. General Mohammad Moosa, the Governor of West Pakistan addressing soon after a meeting, petulently declared that he had sent Hyder Bux Jatoi to jail and issued instructions for subjecting him to strict treatment under jail manual, because the man had composed poems in praise of Sind, and was thus spreading provincialism in Pakistan ! In fact he would not mind if such a fellow died in the jail. The General then, in a self-poised mood, disclosed that he had also placed G. M. Sayed, the arch enemy of One-Unit, under house arrest, and issued orders that he should not be moved to any city, outside of his village even on medical grounds. This attitude to us of one of the Muhajir-

Punjabi top gendarmes reflects the general working of the mind of the entire ruling clique and their masters towards Sind and the Sindhi people.

Thus those of us who were born and bred in Sind, were aware of the five thousand years old glorious part of Sind, had concern in the preservation of the culture, language and economic and political interests of Sind, had our graveyards and mausoleums in Sind, where our ancestors lay buried, had acquired the message of love and humanity which the poets and the divinely just men in Sind had given us, had heard and absorbed in our veins songs of love for mother land, which our mothers, while holding us at breast and our sisters on happy occasions of marriage sang to us, and had thus come to acquire a love for our homeland, which was so full all-absorbing when we saw people from outside not only exploiting Sind and usurping its lands, services, trade workshops and work factories etc., but even trying to efface its history, traditions, culture and language; when we saw them hating the very name of Sind, calling the Sindhi people donkey-drivers and camel-herds and punishing any one who so much has brought the word "Sind" on his lips. When we saw our poets who sang in praise of Sind being banned from the Radio and T.V. and arrogantly kept away from official gatherings; when we saw Sindhi writers, teachers and officers transferred to distant places superseded and even dismissed from services on slightest of suspicion of loyalty to Sind; then even though our selfish Pirs, Mirs, politicians and Vaderas and officers could not feel the sense of shame or realize the gravity of the loss, there were some amongst us, yet who felt our hearts seared and our souls put aflame.

At the start, we took certain officers to be responsible for such things and began fighting against them as a remedy for it. But finding the situation not only persisting but even aggrevating at every succeeding period, we succeeded in detecting the hidden hand behind the phenomenon. We saw atlast that it was in fact the joint Muhajir-Punjabi exploitative interest that was responble for the situation. The persons exercising power at a time, the Governor General or the President, Ministers and officers and other, were all mere 'show-boys' or tools or the joint concern of the Muhajir-Punjabi Samraj, in Pakistan. And this Axis of the two exploitative Interests could not have struck their foothold in

the soil of our homeland, had not there been a Pakistan. The twenty six years long history of Pakistan was spread out before us, as clearly as the palm of our hand. Was there any possibility of any change for the better for our purpose ? No, not any that we could see. Things, on the contrary, went on turning from had to worse. The hard real experience taught us that the Muhajir-Punjabi vested Interests would never give up or relax in their hostility to Sind, and would never stop exploiting the Sindhi people as long as Pakistan lasted. The stem of love for Pakistan thus dried up and its leaves withered away and its roots were burnt to cinders in our hearts, never again to be revived or resuscitated.

The ruling classes were blind in their over-weening sense of power. They could not measure up the conditions properly. They always tried to keep the Sindhi people in check by three methods; force, enticement and propaganda. They could not imagine that all people could not be held under subjection by these methods.

At last, being forced by experience, they dissolved One-Unit and restored the provinces in West Pakistan. Presently, they are engaged in the exercise of maintaining their stranglehold on Sind by keeping a Sindhi as the President or the Prime Minister of Pakistan. They must however, know that if Sind could produce traitors like Chanesar, Jam Froze, Naunmal, Jinnah and Bhutto, it has also given birth to its devoted and loyal sons like Dodo, Darya Khan, Makhdoom Bilal, Hoshoo, Hyder Bux Jatoi, Allah-Bux Soomro, Shaikh Abdul Majeed, G. M. Sayed and other who could never be intimidated or tempted to betray their motherland of Sindhu, whatever be the force, whatever be the enticement.

The ruling interests in Pakistan could thus deceive the people for some time by means of high pitched emotional solgans and strong propaganda and continue their rule through general Ayub Khan. But when the people woke up from the trance and saw through the facade of all talk, and became restive, the General pushed the country into war on Kashmir with India, getting badly mauled, and having taken the country to the brink of disaster, the army withdrew from the war through intercession, on arrangement, of the United Nations organization. Later there was the Tashkent Treaty, which exposed the entire deception and futility

of the war to the people. When Ayub Khan saw the people's anger mounting against him, and the conditions in the country getting out of his hands, he stepped down from the pedestal, handing over the mantle of power to his next in Command-General Yahya Khan.

The Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests ruled the country, from the very beginning, through civil and army officers, as their pliable and obedient instrument for exercise of power n defence and support of their exploitative hold over the smaller and weaker peoples in Pakistan. Under the circumstances leading to replacement of General Ayub Khan by General Yahya Khan, the masters of the show advised the new General to execute the following measures to serve as safety valves for the mass resentment that had gathered during the Ayubian rule, as also strategically otherwise necessary for the ruling axis :

(1) Releasing the political detenues;
(2) Dissolving One-Unit and restoring the original provinces;
(3) Holding of new elections;
(4) Ensuring success of Peoples Party under Bhutto in West Pakistan, and particularly in Sind by mobilising support of Zamindars, Pirs, and Officers for it as against the Sind Nationalist party, the Sind Mutahidah Mahaz.

The scheme of the masters did not somehow work according to plan. In East Pakistan, the Awami League, a thoroughly nationalist party, swept the polls, winning almost cent percent of the seats both in the Central as well as the Provincial Assemblies. In the west, quite effective contingents of nationalist members were sent up in the N.W.F.P. and Balochistan provinces. Under these conditions, the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests grew apprehensive of their power at the Centre slipping out of their hands into the hands of the nationalists. To obviate this possibility, they tackled Mr. Bhutto and made him declare that unless he was made a co-sharer in the Central Government, he would stage a revolt and would not participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly. Using this declaration of Mr. Bhutto as a pretext, General Yahya Khan at once postponed the Constituent Assembly which he had already summoned, and simultaneously started flying troops and equipments to East Pakistan. As a smoke-screen to this move, they opened political negotiations with the

majority party leader Shaikh Mujibur Rehman, and kept the same going till they found the armies there well placed and well-supplied for action. They then suddenly called off the negotiations, imposing martial law on the country and started their bloody massacre in East Pakistan as a pacification campaign against what they termed to be the miscreants of Bangla Desh. The heinous crimes against the defenceless civilian population are today well known to the world. The forces of truth and justice at last won in this unequal fight by the sheer courage and desperateness with which they fought their battle of freedom. Bangla Desh thus won its freedom from the tyranny and exploitation of the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis for ever.

The ruling classes now found Yahya khan to be a liability. The people could tolerate him no longer. They brought in Mr.Bhutto as his successor. Military dictatorships had ceased paying dividend any further. It was time, despotism in the garb of democracy was once again tried in what remained of Pakistan. There could be no more appropriate tool than Mr. Bhutto for such a type of rule by the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis in the four provinces that had been left with them after their debacle in East Pakistan.

Mr. Bhutto, after getting installed into power, started serving his masters with alacrity and faithfulness typical of a household servant, who knows no joy greater than the pleasure of his master, provided they kept him in their service. He would allow no scruple however noble or high, to restrain him from performing the meanest of the job that they may any time summon him to tackle. So far as Sind is concerned, Mr. Bhutto has already totally pledged it with his masters as the price for the privilege of being their first slave.

Mr. Bhutto, to the best of his thinking has riveted the weaker links in the chain of slavery of the Muhajir-Punjabi Raj worn by the smaller peoples in Pakistan, and rendered it un-breakable. He takes pride, in this behalf in the constitution which his party has imposed on the country in complete violation of the election pledges to the peoples of Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto's constitution is indeed the warrant of authority for the fascistic rule of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests, but the smaller peoples of Pakistan take it to be the instrument of their slavery. The chains of slavery imposed on Sind have been hardened by this constitution.

But these chains will break or will not break is not a matter to be decided by Mr. Bhutto or his masters. That is the matter to be decided by history. And it is history which determines the destinies of nations, and has the right of decision in the matters such as these.

As for the people of Sind, they have indeed only two ways open before them now. Mr. Bhutto's constitution leaves them no third way. They may either quietly accept their state of subjection under the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling elite and their native agents, or they may strike out for freedom through bloody revolt, bringing down the iron walls of slavery raised round them so massively by the constitution.

In a democracy, the people have a fundamental right to associate freely and to express freely on national problems. There could be no restriction even on apostasy. But here in Pakistan, its Muhajir-Punjabi Ruling Interests have so effaced these basic human rights that if some one as much as even whispers out his political views which are non-conformist to those of the ruling class, not only his views are rejected in a huff, but he himself is whisked off to what they learnt from their British Imperialist masters to call "protective detention". The writer continues to be in such a detention for years, for the crime of his non-conformity, for the crime of his assertion of the inalienable rights of freedom and sovereignty of his people and of his motherland. Mr. Bhutto, the President of Pakistan and now its Prime Minister, even though he is a Sindhi, has not power or freedom to release the writer from detention, since he very well knows that all his power and position is at the sufference of the Muhajir-Punjabi Imperialists who would not approve any such step on his part.

As a matter of fact, together with democracy, rule of law has become the second biggest casuality in Pakistan. What to speak of Political opponents, for whom there is always one or the other law-less law on hand to keep them deprived of their liberty. Even the plain, ordinary citizens are caught tortured and physically eliminated at the instance of petty officials of the ruling party, who are out to settle personal scores with individuals with whom they may be involved in a feud or vendetta. The entire machinery of law and order remains at the back and call of the Party bosses for these purposes. They terrorise their enemies get them thrust

into jails, have their standing crops, shops and houses burnt and get them killed through their patharies or private bands or desperadoes or even through the police. Judiciary has been reduced to the position of a pliable tool in the hands of the top men of the ruling party. There has been an instance, when a District Sessions Judge was taken straight from his seat in court and bundled into jail under Defence of Pakistan Rules. It has become almost a universal view in the country that there is no law and no justice in Pakistan. Peoples' faith in these two institutions of civilized living has almost totally disappeared. No one, not even the police or any other department of government seems to be interested in the enforcement of law. All are out to snatch benefits and grab some advantage by subverting it.

Pakistan has been given the name and title of an "Islamic Republic". But who are the men in charge of it? Almost without exception, certainly those who indulge in adultery, gambling drinking, tyranny, deceipt and lying. I am basically a religious minded person. In the first wall poster heralding the idea of Pakistan among the people in Sind, I had said vide its item No. 3 that "The reins of government under the Islamic State shall be in the hands of true and pious Muslims". Item 6 of the poster proclaimed that "There would be no gambling, no adultery, no drinking and no usury in Pakistan". But what do we actually see around ourselves in this Islamic State? Exactly the opposite of these goodly things; but the name of Islam is all the same used for labelling these very things as Islamic.

If today I am opposing Pakistan, the main cause for it is that through its existence today, in the words of Hazrat Allama I.I. Kazi, "The entire programme of life as adumbrated in the Holy Quran is being debased and falsified". Under the present conditions, continuance of Pakistan instead of serving Islam is only effectively destroying it."

Qaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a Sindhi, but the lure of power and fame blinded him to the duty to his motherland, and he willfully threw Sind to the wolves. His was the chief leading role in the establishment of Pakistan, the empire of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests which he administered as their agent to the utmost detriment of Sind. Qaid-e-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto too is a Sindhi. He has attained the top political posi-

tion in Pakistan because of Sind. He is determined to hold that position at the cost of Sind. For faithfully serving his masters he is administering their empire fully resolved that Sind, his motherland has to observe and subserve the interest of that empire and therefore, as a part of the policy of his government, it is taken for granted that Sind has no independent interest other than what devolves on it by virtue of its state of subserviency to the empire.

It is no use, of course, to expect a rational response from Mr. Bhutto to the situation, since he is hardly free agent himself. We would therefore prefer addressing a few words to the ruling elite of the Muhajir Vested Interests. It is possible that they, keeping aside for some time their power inflated ego, may yet consider these questions cooly :

(1) You and we both claim to be attached to Islam, as our common faith, though there is a considerable difference between us in its doctrinal interpretation, political strategy and tactics;

(2) You and we both had made collective efforts for the establishment of Pakistan. But experience has proved that our purposes and aspirations in it were different;

(3) It would be pointless to deny that many of you having centuries old ancestral connections with the Iranian and Mughal imperialist administrations and with literary and cultural atmosphere of these courts, are men of high civilization and culture. Many of you are also highly skilled in arts and crafts, and in trade and business. Your existence, therefore, in any society ought to be a matter of advantage and pride for it;

(4) You must be aware that the nationality conscious elements of the people of Sind are at present dissatisfied with you. Have you given a thought to this problem, in order to know as to why it is so?

(5) Do you know that in my welcome address in the 1943 session of All India Muslim League at Karachi while speaking about the past of Sind, I had invited men of talent and ability from amongst you to come to Sind and assist the Sindhi people in their various fields of life?

(6) It is possible that many of you might be wondering over the change, and have not understood the reasons for it. Let me give you some of the reasons :

(a) We had invited you as our comrades and companions, and not as those who would teach us what Islam is, and exploit us, and would strive to rule over us in position of exploitative vested interest;

(b) We have through experience got dis-enchanted with you, because of the following things :

(i) Your obsession, with the concept of separate Muslim nation-hood;

(ii) Your concept of one-nation and one country of Pakistan;

(iii) Your state of self-illusion regarding Islamic Constitution and Islamic system of government;

(iv) Your intention and desire to impose Urdu on us;

(v) Your insatiable desire for economic exploitation;

(vi) Your notions of cultural superiority and social exclusiveness.

(7) It is possible, some of you may ask to know as to how and by what efforts on your part, could there be an understanding for mutually harmonious living between you and the Sindhi people. So far as I have considered the problem, I have reached the following conclusions on it :

(i) You may give up your belief in separate Muslim nationhood and absorb yourselves in the nationalist milieu of Sindhi culture and language;

(ii) You may join us in ending Pakistan and in establishing independent and sovereign state of Sindhu Desh;

(iii) You may retain Urdu as your language at homes. You may even study Urdu as your language in schools, but you must accept Sindhi as a sole national language of Sindhu Desh;

(iv) You may give up your illusions and empty talk about Islamic constitution, Islamic form of Government and pan-Islamism, and instead join us in establishing a secular modern State in Sind;

(v) You may give up your anti-India obsessions, and for the sake of Asian Unity prepare yourselves for the unity of Bharat, Bangla Desh, Sindhu Desh, Afghanistan, Iran, Arab lands all as custodians of high spiritual values and for forward looking understanding with the

U.S.S.R. as the vanguard of Western civilization;

(vi) You may cultivate conviction in your mind about the international mission of Sind for serving interests of World Peace and Universal Brotherhood of man, and join us in the accomplishment of that mission.

(8) It is possible that you may not accept the above suggestions which we have given in all sincerity for your consideration, and you may reject them because of your arrogance and airs of superiority and self righteousness in which you habitually live. In that case, you may know that there could be no understanding between you and the people of Sind, and you may have to prepare yourselves to hear the terrible verdict of history about you. You have already left India, and the only place of further refugee for you, in the words of General Mohammad Ayub Khan, "may be Arabian Sea". You cannot be saved from this calamity by Bhutto's chance relationship with you, nor by your placations of Pir Pagaro, nor by your alliance with the Punjab power elite not even through the "fatwas" of Maulvi Maudoodi.

(9) It appears that extremist elements among you are now engaged in an effort to remove Bhutto even though he faithfully carries out your desires and to foist the military rule on the country again. They believe that thereby they would be able to have the entire nationalist leadership eliminated and, as a result, to get their imperialist hold irrevocably established in Pakistan. It seems they have already forgotten the experience of Bangla Desh. Let them go through the experience again if they so desire. This time, the result that is bound to follow would spell the doom of not only the show-boys, but, alongwith them, that of the entire hordes of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests, including Pakistan, the safest and the richest hunting ground for their predatory exploits in which they have engaged without any lit or hinderance from the very start.

Mr. Bhutto ought to realize that the interests of the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling classes which he finds himself obliged to protect at present, and those of the constituent smaller nations of Pakistan are mutually exclusive and contradictory. It does not matter that their oppressed nations have not been able yet to fully mobi-

lise themselves internally nor have they succeeded in mustering external support for joining the fight, devisively for their liberation. The fact of the de-facto existence of these nations and their distinct interest cannot however, be denied by any means. The Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interest cannot succeed to keep them suppressed or in subjection, for long. By intimidating, or even liquidating Khan Wali, Attaullah Khan, Bakhsh Khan and G. M. Sayed, the existence or the urge for freedom of these nations cannot be ended or destroyed.

Every act of tyranny and despotism creates its reaction in the shape of resistence, mental as well as physical. Nothing can be attained permanently through violent or fascistic means.

Now I have come to believe that the condition of Pakistan is that of a sick person, who has been lying on its death bed for the last 26 years. Its well-wishers, now, are heard openly praying for its quick and easy death.

With this condition of its health, it has now become impossible for Pakistan to survive. Its rulers have lost their common sense and have gone crazy. They are not ready to listen to any advice for its betterment or welfare. It is the duty of the sincere well-wishers of the country, therefore to put it on the operation table, so that it could be rearranged into independent and sovereign states as originally planned. The emerging independent states would then be left free to establish mutual relations among themselves that may suit them in accordance with their best interests. More they are kept together forcibly under one centre lesser would be possibilities of their mutual co-operation in future.

Chapter IV

MISSION OF SINDHU DESH

I have stated above that Sind is a country with roots in the past, and there lives a historically evolved people in this land, who possess their distinct culture, language and political and economic identity of interests. On the other hand Pakistan had no history, and no country under such a name ever existed in the past. It is a freak that has cropped up under a political intrigue.

I have also described the fantasies and dreams which accompanied the formation of Pakistan, and how all such dreams vanished in smoke, and Sind and the Sindhi people had instead landed into the position of a colony under a vicious and ruthless imperialism that knows neither restraint nor humanity. We have been accordingly left with no option but to struggle for political existence, economic prosperity and cultural advancement outside the frame work of Pakistan as it exists and functions today.

It is not only the physical means that are used for gaining superioity and dominations on individulas and nations. The intellectual means prove even more efficatious for the purpose. Clever persons, classes and nations always first confuse and distort the minds of ignorant and backward people for gaining control over them. The Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests first deceived the Sindhis, Balochis, Pakhtoons, and Bengalis in the name of religion and established Pakistan. Later they tried to pull their mind to sleep under slogans of glory of Islam, Muslim Unity , Islami Raj and security of Pakistan, so that they would

accept their political economic and cultural enslavement without making much of a very face about it.

Pakistan is worse than a prison house for Sind and the Sindhi people. Shah Latif the immoral Sindhi poet says :

Oh my fate ! how else could I fall
inside these prison-walls :
Oh my destiny ! break those prison walls !
I must be free !

The desire of the Sindhi people for the disposal of Pakistan and for the liberation of Sindhu Desh, which is their homeland, is a natural desire. Khusarau, some where, has said :

I am a renegade and prefer love,
I don't need Muslim-hood,
Every nerve of mine is the 'string'
I need no sacred thread.

The Sindhi people in their disgust have reached a point, where they publicly denounce Pakistan, the prison-house under Muhajir Punjabi gendarmarie. Could it be that Pakistan is heaven, they would prefer hundred times over the 'hell' of free Sind.

What better joy and felicity can the Sindhi people imagine than the state when they are free from their present condition of slavery and being an independent and sovereign people, join the United Nations Organization as one of its member nations.

Let us now enumerate the gains of freedom that await the Sindhi people :

(1) With freedom, the part of the national produce of Sind, which now goes in bulk to the Centre in the form of taxes, serving the purposes of the Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests, shall be utilized for the good of Sind, turning Sind soon into a well developed modern country;

(2) With freedom, the people of Sind, whom the alien exploitators today keep divided, leaving them weak and helpless, shall be united and transformed into a powerful and dynamic nation ;

(3) With freedom, both the indigenous people of Sind as well as all such immigrant people who may have identified themselves with the interests of the Sindhi People, having adopted their language and culture, shall advance, and prosper collectively as a nation, free from economic exploitation and cultural domination of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests;

(4) With freedom, the entire agricultural land of Sind, now in possession of the non-Sindhi outsiders and non-agriculturists shall be resumed from them and would be available for distribution among the genuine landless peasantry of Sind ;

(5) With freedom, all trade and commerce which today, in the main part, is under alien control shall be brought under the management and control of Sindhi speaking and permanently settled people in Sind ;

(6) With freedom, undue and unnatural pressure of population on the land and to other economic resources of Sind shall be checked by putting a stop to immigration of people from outside. All those who have temporary domiciled in Sind and who resent absorption in the Sindhi society and all the agents of alien intrigue shall be expelled;

(7) With freedom, all financial establishments in Sind, like banks, insurance companies and government agencies shall be brought under the management and control of the Sindhi nationals. At present these establishments being under the direct control of non-Sindhis, the major part of all wealth produced in Sind caters for alien interests. The Muhajir-Punjabi ruling elite being in control of the policies of the Central Government, they shape their policies in such a manner that the Sindhi people get financially more and more impoverished ;

(8) With freedom, all employment avenues and job opportunities that emerge through industrial and developmental enterprises in Sind shall be reserved for the Sindhi nationals. The position today is quite opposite of this. From manual labour to the skilled and semi-killed labour and even the ministerial jobs, what to say of the managerial positions, are all appropriated by non-Sindhis in almost every factory that goes up any where in Sind ;

(9) With freedom, Sind will have to go in for the basic and heavy industry, unlike what goes on in both the private and public sectors of economy today, when there is an all round scamper for the light and secondary type of industry, only because of its demonstrability of easy and quick success in production and in fetching heavy cash returns.

(10) With freedom Sindhi shall be the sole national and official language of Sind. Any one who would not know the language, will not be given right of citizen-ship. Thus the Sindhi people

shall be permanently free from the domination of Urdu. The self-exploitation and concept which the Urdu speaking Muhajirs exhibit today would stand permanently curbed. If, inspite of that enthusiastics for Urdu chose to conspire and work against Sind and the Sindhi people, they could be expelled physically from Sind, even as they were expelled for similar reasons from Bangla Desh;

(11) With freedom, ways and expressions of Sindhi culture shall receive encouragement. The radio, television and the films shall be geared into service, in addition to utilizing the popularly established folk media, for promotion and dissemination of Sindhi language and culture with a view to restoring due prestige to them as it fits for a national language and a national culture;

(12) With freedom, the citizens of Sind shall be encouraged to cultivate pride in their nationhood through development of sense of identity in them, and to that effect a national dress reflecting their individuality as a nation shall be devised for use on formal occasions for their nationals in general and for their representatives in international councils in particular;

(13) With freedom, all non-Sindhi and anti-Sindhi names shall be removed from cities, muhallas, markets, roads, schools, colleges, hospitals, and from all other public places and institutions, and in their place Sindhi names reflecting historical greatness and national individuality of the Sindhi people shall be substituted;

(14) With freedom, the homeless, the shelterless and the nomadic and Sindhi tribes living in cities, towns, villages out in the hills and on the plains in the forests and by the side of rivers and lakes shall be rehabilitated and settled in well-planned and well constructed villages, provided with all essential modern amenities for civilized living;

(15) All outsiders, who have grabbed houses, shops, lands and factories left in Sind by Hindus shall be dispossessed of these, which shall then be transferred to the deserving Sindhi Musalmans or the Sindhi Hindus who choose to return to their hearths and homes in Sind which is their motherland.

(16) At present, nearly 70% of the people in Sind are living on agriculture. There are about 21 million acres of arable land available in the country. Thus under equal distribution of agricultural land the agriculturalist population in Sind would hardly receive 3 acres of land per individual. Counting 5 members in a family,

each family would be entitled only to 15 acres of cultivable land, which, in view of very hard and scanty irrigation facilities available, would not be a good economic unit for comfortable living. The land ceiling shall therefore be fixed at 200 acres in the barrage area for four families to be cultivated on the basis of collective farming;

(17) A man-power survey shall be carried out and provision made for the housing, employment, free medical care, education and old age pension for all, and guaranteed maternity allowance for mothers;

(18) It shall not be permissible to possess building including the one in use for personal residence beyond a fixed value;

(19) All factories shall be nationalized except small ones employing 10 or less than 10 workers;

(20) The institutions of Pirdom and tribal headmanship shall be prohibited by law;

(21) For the establishment of genuine democracy in the country, the Mulla, the Pir, the tribal and the Government officer shall not be allowed to contest elections for membership of legislative assemblies;

(22) All sectarian and communal propaganda shall be prohibited by law. No party or organization based on such parochial loyalities shall be permitted to function in the country;

(23) For raising common standard of living of the people and for guaranteeing full employment to them, and for ensuring steady progress and development of the nation all means of production, distribution and exchange shall be nationalized on the basis of the fundamental principles of socialism;

(24) The people shall be educated and trained in the ways and methods of cultural living. All social disorders and crime shall be suppressed. The villages and towns of Sind shall be turned into havens of peace and security for the people;

(25) At present, the woman folk waste their time and energy in tiresome household jobs like sweeping the floor, dusting the furniture, grinding the corn, baking bread, washing clothes, and doing such other unattractive chores. With freedom these odd jobs shall be left for machines to take care of, while our woman folk, shall be educated and trained for more important and productive jobs and shall work side by side with the man folk contri-

buting materially and creatively to the general wealth and rising prosperity of the nation;

(26) Religion shall be kept separate from politics and in a secular system of government, the Mullah, the Pir, the Pundit and the Priest, having thus been freed from expediencies and opportunisms of politics shall be made to look after the moral education and cultural upliftment of the people at large;

(27) Education system in free Sindhu Desh shall be so reorganizes and reset that men shall live and work in cooperation and for the collective human good nationally, internationally and on humanist plane, inspite of professing different faiths and holding different political opinions, and irrespective of belonging to different classes, races, and nationalities;

(28) With freedom, education shall be made free from the start to the University stage. In the main, education beyond the primary and necessary stages shall be through residential institutions. A net work of hostels shall be planned for it, providing for free lodging and boarding arrangements for hundreds of thousands of students pursuing different disciplines of study in specialised Universities, spread far and wide in the country;

(29) The original history of ancient civilization of Sindhu Desh shall be investigated thoroughly and all gaps in the story of the growth and development of that civilization shall be covered by arranging a thorough archeological survey of Sind, and a planned excavation of all archeological sites shall be carried out for discovering the missing links for producing a full detailed history of Sind. A Board of Scholars shall be set up, and all facilities and all assistance shall be provided to that Board to complete the job to their full satisfaction;

(30) With freedom, arrangements shall be made in every college and inside the Universities for the teaching of Military Science to the students;

(31) With freedom, an imposing large statue of Raja Dahir Sen shall be installed at the port now under construction near Karachi and that port shall be named Port Dahir instead of Port Kasim;

(32) With freedom, cultural relations and trade relations for exchange of technological know-how shall be established with Bharat, Afghanistan, U.S.S.R., Iran, Bangla Desh and Arab coun-

tries, in order to strengthen neighbourly ties with them for purposes of mutual benefits;

(33) The State of Sindhu Desh shall be established on the basis of Secularism, Socialism, Democracy and Nationalism. The foreign policy of Sindhu Desh shall be that of non-alignment. Such a policy alone shall reflect the best interests of the people of Sindhu Desh;

(34) With freedom of Sindhu Desh, effort shall be set a foot to establish a common wealth of Bangla Desh, Pakhtoonistan, Balochistan, Punjab, Bharat, Iran, Afghanistan and Arab Countries of West Asia;

(35) With the unity of religions, culture and day to day social living having been founded and consolidated in Sindhu Desh, that shall be made the basis for building a grander edifice of world unity and human brotherhood. For identifying and strengthening future trends towards such a felicitious development seminars on national, regional and world level shall be organized, lectures shall be instituted, commissions shall be set up for the study of such trends and for channelising them towards the desired goal.

These and other such excellent proposals for the good of the people of Sind can materialize only after Pakistan is dissolved, and Sindhu Desh is established.

Those engaged in the task of liberation of Sind must in this connection, understand and realize the following two most important things :

First, the biggest of hurdles in the way of the liberation of Sind is the ideology of Pakistan.

Second, it is futile to think or expect that liberation of Sind can be secured through democratic or constitutioned methods.

Our masses are not politically conscious. Our own elite which are the elite of a backward subject nation and have all the weaknesesses of their class, toq the Pirs, the Mullas, the Kamoras and the Vaderas would rather prefer to serve as agents of the alien masters and join in the general exploitation. In the 'democratic' elections, it is these elite who are going to be effective for quite a long time to come. It is necessary, therefore, first to strike for freedom by mounting frontal attacks on the prison walls with the help of a vanguard composed of special squads of well-disciplined and able fighters for freedom, and then shaking off that servile and

comprador class of anachronic native elite in the process, go forward to liberate Sindhu Desh finally and help it find the comity of nations.

It has indeed, to be remembered that in the divine word of holy Quran :

"God changes not the condition of any nation, unless it strives itself and on its own first to change it"

It has been my habit from early childhood to see dreams and then strive to translate them into reality. There is the Sindhi proverb, which says, "The servant's desire in the heart is one and that in the Master's quite another". Struggle for translation of dreams into reality is yet what lies entirely within the spheres of the powers of the servant.

The fight to liberate Sind from the shackle of slavery in which it finds itself today is not easy task. The Sindhi Savant Shah Latif says :

"The game of love is not an easy sport, that children may play;
The fatal spear it holds, challenging the player ever,
Throws he his neck at it and the neck,
gets cut into two and falls."

The people of Bangla Desh have won freedom not without paying the cost for it. Nearly ten million of their people had to leave their homeland and live as fugitives facing untold hardships and enumerable suffering. Two hundred thousands of their good and gentle women folk had to suffer disgrace at the hands of the brutal enemy. Three million of their sons had to sacrifice their lives and give their blood at the altar of freedom.

With us here in Sind, as we have already noted elsewhere, our elite, the Zamindar, the Kamora, the Pir, the Mulla and the petty trader, are content with playing agents to the alien masters and collecting their preferred share in exploitation. Here too, the burden to lead the struggle lies on the shoulders of the awakened workers of 'Jeeay Sind' movement and on its courageous student contingent.

Sindhu Desh has a specific message of love and peace and of intellectual and spiritual rise for the nations of the world. This message has to be studied, properly arranged and developed. All attempts and experiments that have taken place in Sind for bringing different religions and philosophies together have to be given a

concrete shape through study and research in the light of past traditions, so that the people of Sind are able to play their due part in the mission of the nations of the world for the general human good and for bringing nearer the state of universal peace and social felicity on earth.

Here in Sindhu Desh, some specific yet popular experiments with the sole object of human welfare in view will also be initiated for the meeting together of civilizations of the East and the West.

Here a comparative study will have to be carried out of religion, philosophy and science, and having resolved their differences, the three great fields of human thought will be used in a harmonious combination to the general good of man.

It will be from here that love's cup full to the brim will go round among the peoples of the world, calling them to the banquet of unity of nations and brother-hood of man in the world.

Politics in Sindhu Desh will be based on lasting ethical values and will be an example of self-control and rectitude to the world.

ADDENDUM

The election manifesto on the basis of which Shaikh Mujibur Rehman won his land-slide victory in the General-elections in East Pakistan, consisted of the following six points :

Point No. 1

The Constitution should provide for a Federation of Pakistan, in the true sense, on the basis of Lahore Resolution of 1940 and parliamentary form of government with supremacy of Legislature directly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.

The above point, in short, visualised :

(a) Pakistan to be a Federation;

(b) The Federation to consist of autonomous, self-governing states, based on Lahore Resolution;

(c) Government in the Federation to be of parliamentary form, responsible to the elected members of Legislature; and

(d) The Legislature to be directly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.

Point No. 2

The Federal Government of Pakistan shall deal with only two subjects, viz :

(i) Defence, and

(ii) Foreign Affairs.

Point No. 3

Separate currencies for the provinces may be introduced.

or

In case of one currency, effective constitutional provisions should be made and separate Reserved Banks should be maintained to stop flight of capital from one province to another.

Point No. 4

The power of taxation and revenue collection shall rest with the federating Units and the Federation will have a share in the state taxes for meeting its required expenditure.

The merits of this point were the following :

(i) We were to save the double expenses otherwise being incurred on maintaining separate departments and offices to imposè and to collect taxes;

(ii) Every province will levy taxes best suited to its conditions and circumstances;

(iii) Our province (for example) earns most of the customs duty

and Income Tax but its earnings are spent by the Centre and on development of other provinces. In the case of Defence and Foreign Affairs, we contribute large amounts towards expenses thereof than what we gain from them directly or indirectly;

(iv) By vesting the provinces with powers to impose and collect taxes, the difference and disparity in the burden of Central-taxation from province to province shall come to an end;

(v) The provinces would then be entitled to ask for benefits proportionate to their contributions. This is not a new idea either. Before 1900 A.D. provinces in India had all powers of taxation vested in them and they only used to make fixed contributions of funds to the Centre. The two leading Federations of the world, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. follow this system of taxation as between their constituent states and the Federal Centre.

The disadvantages of the present arrangement in Pakistan besides imposition thereby of inequiteous economic burdens on the provinces, are firstly inescapability of the danger of frequent interferences by the Centre in the affairs of provinces, and secondly, the possibilities of some provinces benefiting at the cost of others.

Point No. 5

Every province shall have its own separate account of foreign exchange earnings, and of one province would not be spent for the benefit of any other province.

As a result of this :

(i) Earnings of each province shall be under the control of its own government;

(ii) Foreign Exchange requirements of the Federal Government shall be met by all the provinces proportionate to their populations;

(iii) Indigenous products shall move free of duty between Federating Units so that any province can sell its surplus goods to any neighbouring province, with ease and without any hinderance from Centre, and the provinces shall not suffer from any discriminatory permit system or excise duty;

(iv) Constitutionally the provincial government shall be entitled to establish trade and commercial relations, and enter into agreements with foreign countries. During the last 23 years,

the Central Government, having remained under the influence of a particular province and certain vested interests, some provinces remained undeveloped, while the other developed at a wasteful cost of millions of rupees.

Point No. 6

Every province shall have the right to raise its own Militia for looking after its internal and external security.

(i) The police force is not always sufficient to deal with law and order situations arising from eruption of local riots, strikes, etc. In such cases, the provincial governments generally have to request the Central Government for the aid of the army to reinforce the police force in controlling the situation. This paves way for involvement of the army in the internal situations of law and order in the country, and its readiness or efficiency and effectiveness as an instrument for external defence, suffers;

(ii) Some of the provinces have virtually no representation in the country's armed forces. When they make a grievance of it, they get the reply that their People do not come forward for recruitment in the forces, and that they do not possess the required martial qualities either.

To this contention, the peoples of such provinces have the following arguments :

(a) The recruiting and the training officers belong to a particular province, and it was their unsympathetic attitude which was responsible for this lag;

(b) Some of the conditions of recruitment were such that the peoples of these provinces were not able to fulfil them due to their physical make-up.

(c) If they were to have their own militias, they would be able to overcome this lag, and their Jawans would not only be readily available to safeguard the borders of their country, whenever, any occasion arises, but the provinces would also, thereby get their due share or representation in the Central Military Force;

(iii) It has been proved from experiences of the past 23 years that for the support and protection of certain vested interests possessing a controlling sway in the Central Government, there has been undue interference frequently in the affairs of

the provinces and also impositions of dictatorial regimes through Martial Law, reducing all provincial autonomy to a farce. The Provincial Militias would ensure against these eventualities by providing necessary minimum safeguard to their respective home provinces.